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FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING

ISRAEL

PART 9

January to December 1957

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VR 1001/75

1983, I obtained my professor on the

(No. 40 - Confidential) Foreign Office

Foreign Office,
January 25, 1957.

2. To M. Chauvel's question I said that nothing new had emerged in our

3. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Representatives at

I am &c

SELWYN LLOYD

...the Prime Minister of both countries.

VR 10317/3

No. 2

FRENCH RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL

Sir John Nicholls to Mr. Selwyn Lloyd. (Received February 11)(No. 17. Confidential) *Tel Aviv, February 4, 1957.*
Sir,

It is nearly two years since, in my despatch No. 30 of the 22nd of February, 1955, I addressed your predecessor on the subject of Franco-Israeli relations. In the meantime, French assistance, in the form of war materials, has enabled Israel to inflict a smashing defeat on her principal enemy, and France has become, superficially at least, the most popular foreign country in the public estimation. It may be opportune to trace the stages by which this has come about, and to consider whether the new intimacy between the two countries reflects a genuine community of interests.

2. Two years ago I could already refer to France's irresponsible policy in supplying arms to Israel behind the backs of her partners in the Tripartite Declaration. At that time a mere trickle was involved and I doubt whether it represented any very definite policy on the part of France other than a desire to play a role in the Middle East and to develop a small but useful market. But, as French difficulties in North Africa increased, the advantages of strengthening Israel against the Arabs loomed larger in the mind of the French Government, more particularly when it became clear that the Egyptian Government was actively supporting the North African insurgents. Despite British and American objections, the French Government decided to meet the Israeli desire for swept-wing fighters capable of dealing with the MiGs acquired by Egypt under the arms deal with Czechoslovakia. The French at first admitted only to supplying Ouragans, but there was soon evidence that swept-wing Mystères were also being supplied. With the sharpening of the Suez Canal crisis, it became clear that the French Government had embarked on a deliberate policy of strengthening Israel's war potential, both in the air and on land. Supplies continued to arrive up to, and indeed after, the start of Israel's Sinai campaign. The extent of French military assistance may be judged by the fact that in the Israel air force one first line squadron only is now

equipped with British aircraft (Meteors) and the remaining three are equipped with French Ouragans and Mystères; in the army, tank units are now mainly equipped with French 75 mm. guns mounted either in old Sherman hulls or in new French "AMX" tanks, while all of the medium artillery is now of recent manufacture; in the navy, the first French vessels, light motor torpedo boats with a British Deltic engine, are now being put into service.

3. At the start of this process there was little or nothing to indicate to the Israeli-in-the-street that France and Israel were drawing closer together. But, despite rigid security precautions, knowledge of French deliveries of arms gradually spread, and a new note of warmth crept into official speeches and statements on either side. By the middle of 1956, Israelis were beginning to hope that they were emerging from their isolation, and in September Mr. Ben-Gurion is reported to have told a party meeting that before long Israel might have a true ally. The start of the Sinai campaign, the evidence of impressive quantities of new French arms, and the part played by France during and after the Anglo-French intervention in Egypt and the resulting proceedings at the United Nations completed France's elevation to the position of most favoured nation. The new relationship was given expression at the turn of the year by the Prime Ministers of both countries. M. Guy Mollet said, in a New Year message to Israel, that she could count on the support of France to obtain the peace which she deserves. On the same day Mr. Ben-Gurion said in the Knesset that as a result of French co-operation President Nasser had been prevented from carrying out his designs to annihilate Israel and that he considered it his duty to increase co-operation with France. He qualified this, however, by stating that no negotiations had been or were being conducted for an alliance with France.

4. French arms deliveries have, as the preceding paragraphs indicate, been the

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chief outward sign of increasing Franco-Israel friendship. Indeed, it would be no exaggeration to say that that friendship was built on Israel's acute need of arms and France's willingness to supply them. In two respects, however, this would give an unduly simplified picture of a rather peculiar relationship. In the first place, account must be taken of Israel's sense of isolation and her long-standing desire for a reliable friend among the Great Powers. Any one of them could have qualified, had circumstances permitted. As it happens France was the only one which could afford (or thought she could afford) to abandon all hope of friendly relations with the Arab States and consequently the only one which felt able to accede to Israel's importunities. In the second place, France's forthcoming attitude towards Israel has by no means been confined to the arms traffic. The goodwill which she secured by arms deliveries has provided her with considerable opportunities for commercial penetration, and French exporters have made substantial progress, particularly in the field of communications, port construction, railways and public motor transport. An increase of 50 per cent. over the trade figures of 1955 (some £3 million each way) has been negotiated for 1957, and there are indications that the French will play an increasingly important part in the Israel Government's numerous projects for the development of the Negev. Moreover, the cultural activities to which I drew attention two years ago have been intensified and made considerable progress. Favourable opportunities for this have been provided by the recent preponderance of French-speaking immigrants from North Africa. I am told, for instance, that over 60 per cent. of the inhabitants of Eilat speak French, and that 40 per cent. can speak nothing but French; and that the French Government plans to open a cultural centre there to make the most of this opportunity. Though French cultural activities run counter to the fundamental absorption policy of the Israel State by tending to perpetuate the Frenchness of French-speaking immigrants, they are for political reasons welcomed and supported by the Israel Government.

5. Despite the progress made in all these spheres, I am rather doubtful whether Franco-Israeli friendship is really very deeply rooted. Developments beyond French and Israeli control will determine whether France's present monopoly of arms

supplies will remain a significant political weapon. Israel's need for arms which only France is willing to supply may disappear; France might cease to be Israel's only source of supplies. Moreover, Israel is altogether too dependent on the United States to be able to turn her special relationship with France to any lasting political use, except in a tactical sense; and it is hard to see what use Israel can be to France except as a stick with which to beat or threaten Colonel Nasser. Finally, I think that there is little genuine enthusiasm in Israel for the French liaison. Except in *Herut*, Press comment has maintained an undercurrent of caution. In particular, there are fears that the relationship may not endure the frequent changes of French Governments. In some respects the Israelis are politically very clear-sighted and they see that their relationship with France is based on hostility to a common enemy, rather than on traditional sympathy or a positive community of interest. They infer that the rapprochement might be short-lived; it may last only as long as Nasser does. Some of this lack of enthusiasm very probably stems also from Israeli reluctance to enter into any pact or formal relationship which seems to detract from her own power to look after herself. Moreover, the Government may fear that some important sections of fund-raising Zionist opinion, particularly in the United States, would become rather complacent about Israel's future if, by concluding a treaty with France, Israel seemed to have provided herself with an alternative life-line.

6. My French colleague (locally known and acclaimed as *Mystère Gilbert*) has described the present relationship between Israel and France as "love without marriage." Israel, I am sure, would change partners without compunction if she saw any chance of a liaison with the United Kingdom. For the present, however, Israel and France have little option but to continue the role of partners in adversity which is forced upon them by the General Assembly. But a vote of 74-2 (Israel and France) such as was cast on the 19th of January and the 2nd of February is unlikely to recur often and the situation which it reflects is not tenable in the long run by either country. There must be movement away from this position and it would probably be in the best interests of both countries that their paths should now diverge. France's patronage is a millstone

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around Israel's neck if Israel is to move in the direction of establishing a *modus vivendi* in Palestine; conversely, continued overt diplomatic support for Israel by France, by increasing Arab hostility, can only hinder a settlement in Algeria.

7. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassadors at Paris and Washington, and to the Political Officer with the Middle East Forces.

I have, &c.

JOHN NICHOLLS.

VR 1015/3

No. 3

HER MAJESTY'S AMBASSADOR'S IMPRESSION OF THE CHARACTER OF THE PEOPLE AND THE FUTURE OF THE STATE ON THE EVE OF HIS DEPARTURE FROM ISRAEL

Sir John Nicholls to Mr. Selwyn Lloyd. (Received February 11)

(No. 18. Confidential)
Sir,

Tel Aviv,
February 5, 1957.

In more than one despatch from this post I have found it impossible to explain Israeli actions and reactions without using (and I fear, misusing) the terms of psychiatry. I am tempted in this, my valedictory despatch, to apply such terms to myself and to explain the inadequacy of my summing-up as the consequence of a slight case of schizophrenia. I leave Israel, after nearly two and a half years, in two minds about almost everything; about the prospects of the State's survival, about the merits of the Zionist experiment, and about the virtues of the Israeli character—if indeed such a character can be said to exist.

2. The difficulty of arriving at a fair assessment is not diminished by the inevitable ambivalence of British policy towards Israel—a country for whose existence we, more than any other State, are responsible, which by the mere fact of its existence represents a constant threat to our economic and strategic interests in the Middle East, and which nevertheless cherishes a deeply-felt desire for some special relationship with us. Indeed, perhaps the least agreeable part of a British Ambassador's role in Israel is the necessity of continually discouraging advances and rejecting requests not because they are intrinsically unreasonable (though many of them are) but because a favourable response might impair our relations with the Arabs. The role of wet blanket is unattractive at the best of times and doubly so when, as in this case, the initiatives which it is used to smother are based on genuine feelings of friendship and admiration as well as self-interest.

3. The discomforts of this role are, it must be said, substantially mitigated by the special talent of the Israelis for saying and doing the wrong thing at the wrong time in the wrong way. If I may quote my predecessor without his permission, I will repeat, and endorse, his dictum that no other people has ever shown such an aptitude for jerking the rug of sympathy away from under one's feet.

In personal relationships it has often been my experience that, at the very moment when one has weighed the good qualities of an Israeli against the bad and decided that the former predominate, he will do or say something so gratuitously foolish or offensive that the impulse to like and even admire is immediately stifled. So, too, in political matters; all too often during my stay here an act of folly has preceded by a matter of hours or days the moment at which Her Majesty's Government, or the world at large, would have admitted the justice of the Israel Government's case or the moderation of their attitude. There is no measure in Israeli behaviour; it is normal only momentarily as it oscillates between too much and too little.

4. I make no apology for opening this despatch with these reflections on the Israeli character because they are relevant to any consideration of Israeli policy. They are of course superficial and, in a sense, misleading, for there can hardly be an Israeli character in a country which has imported more than half its population in the last ten years and almost the whole of it, except for the Arab minority, in the last fifty; and which has drawn them from such disparate sources as pre-revolutionary Russia and post-war Germany, Aden and Cochin-China, the Yemen and South Africa. Nevertheless, I think that my criticisms are broadly true of the majority of those, irrespective of origin, who direct affairs, conduct the administration, are engaged in commerce or industry and generally set the tone. Most of them are intelligent; many of them are cultivated, conscientious and honest; yet, of those I have met, there is hardly one who, at one time or another, has not either repelled me by some heavy-handed *manque de tact* or baffled me by his failure to see that his words or actions are having the opposite effect to that intended. How far the inability of these people to take account of the effect they produce on others is due to their common "Jewishness" and how far to their past sufferings or the incredible difficulties they have met and in part surmounted in

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creating a Jewish state, I find it difficult to judge. Whatever the reason, they are queer customers, individually and collectively; and it is easy enough to see how their idiosyncrasies have added to the nervousness of their Arab neighbours and shaken the confidence of their friends. In turn violent and sentimental, grasping and generous, brash and diffident, realistic and visionary, the Israeli is not yet equipped with the steady nerves or the understanding of other people which will be needed if he is to maintain his precarious foothold on the land of his forefathers.

5. The land itself produces the same effect of uneasiness as its new inhabitants. It is an absurd shape, rather less than 300 miles long from north to south and almost bisected at its waist by the Jordanian salient. Its capital is half a city, situated at the end of a narrow salient extending deep into hostile territory. No point in Israel is more than 35 miles from a hostile neighbour. Five-sixths of its land surface consist of hill and mountain; the Negev and Judean wilderness accounts for more than half. Water resources are mainly concentrated in the northern half of the country, but development plans require that water should be available in the arid south. Mineral resources are few and sparse; those that can usefully be exploited are for the most part found in the least accessible regions. In the populous northern and central districts the climate is distinguished by an enervating humidity, interrupted occasionally by hot desiccating winds from the desert. The geophysical impediments to progress are indeed formidable, and it is not surprising that, of Israel's 1,600,000 Jewish inhabitants 700,000 have sought the relatively comfortable asylum offered by the three main cities—Tel Aviv, Haifa and Jerusalem, where they seek to re-create the atmosphere, whether of the business world, the market place, the sukh or the café, to which they were accustomed in the diverse countries of their adoption.

6. Against this background, one may say of the material and moral development of Israel, as Dr. Johnson said of the dancing dog, that one does not ask whether it is well done; the wonder is that it should be done at all. Something very like a nation and a State has been created in eight short years; there is an administration that functions, and a legal system that provides justice; education and the arts are not neglected; industry and agriculture are rapidly expanding; and homes and occupations

have been found for 800,000 new citizens. Behind the superficial muddle and scruffiness, the waste and inefficiency, the abuses and the window-dressing, there undoubtedly lies a unique and admirable achievement, the product of ruthless determination, hard work, enterprise and devotion to an ideal on the part of the ruling few.

7. If, nevertheless, a question still remains as to the viability of the Zionist experiment, it is, I think, because it has still to be shown that the Jew, who has maintained his separate way of life in alien environments for close on two thousand years, is capable of learning how not to be an alien in the Middle East. Though the Jewish religion as the unifying influence is swiftly losing its potency, education, a common language and a sense of nationhood are taking its place; but the change will not in itself alter the "apartness" of the Jew which was his strength in exile and may well prove his undoing after the in-gathering. It is this, I believe, just as much as the emotional instability of the Arab, which makes it difficult to foresee the reconciliation of Jew and Arab. The present rulers of Israel are determined to build here a technological civilisation, on the Western model; whether or not they succeed, the mere intention sets them still further apart from the neighbouring peoples. They pay lip-service to the idea of integration into the Middle East, but their besetting fear is that, under the influence of climate and of immigration from Asia and Africa, Israel may become Levantine. Inevitably, therefore, they strive—and they can hardly be blamed for the attempt—to differentiate themselves from their neighbours in every way. Convinced as they are of their own superiority and rightness, they see themselves as the standard bearers of progress in the Middle East, with no obligation to their neighbours except that of allowing them to profit if they wish from Israeli enterprise and leadership. The idea of compromise, of concessions, is foreign to Israelis, because they admit the existence of only two points of view—the Israeli one and the wrong one. I see no disposition on their part to do or say anything to heal the wounds inflicted on Arab pride in 1947 and 1948; they look to the rest of the world to bring the Arabs to their senses and, meanwhile, they accept their inevitable isolation as the price to be paid for being right. An observer from another planet might plausibly report that Zionism had succeeded only in exchanging a thousand ghettos for a single comprehensive one.

8. Inevitably, as I read through what I have just written, I feel that I have been unfair to Israelis and to their prospects of survival. Israel is a State still in the making, and it is unfair to judge it until a generation of native-born Israelis arises, free from the tensions produced by foreign upbringing, the scars of the concentration camps and a long history of discrimination and persecution. I see no reason why in time—if time is given—the difficulties of integration should not be overcome and a more stable, homogeneous race arise. It may well be that, under the influences of climate and the changing pattern of immigration, some degree of "Levantinisation" will take place and that it will prove to be a blessing rather than the menace which it seems to Israel's present rulers. I think that, given time, and a measure of continuing support from world Jewry, Israel may well become viable, with an economy based on scientific and technical skill. I believe that Western support and understanding, if it could be reconciled with Western dependence on Arab oil, would soften the angularities of the national character and lessen the Israeli (or Jewish) urge towards isolation and self-immolation. The gradual assimilation of Jews overseas into the countries of their adoption—a process which the existence of the State of Israel is likely to accelerate—may lead Israelis in time to a juster appreciation of their place in the world. In short, I think

that Israel has the makings of a useful and productive member of the family of nations, provided that it is enabled to survive long enough to become capable of seeing the absolute necessity of accommodating itself to the facts of history and geography.

9. Having thus modified my conclusion in the direction of qualified optimism, I accept with resignation the probability that the next Israeli I meet, whether he is a plumber or a senior official, will say or do something so characteristically wrong-headed, so irritating or so deficient in human understanding, that I shall be tempted to amend my verdict and ask (as one of my colleagues, exasperated beyond endurance, once asked a distinguished Israeli lady) what grounds there are for supposing that the wrath of God, kindled against His people so long ago, has really been appeased. Alternatively, of course, he may disarm me by some act of disinterested kindness or generosity; and a glimpse of a concentration camp brand on his forearm may heap coals of fire on my head. He may even—though this is very unlikely—admit to a measure of human fallibility.

10. I leave Israel with relief, but with a sort of exasperated affection and admiration for a remarkable people.

I have, &c.

J. NICHOLLS.

VR 1015/4

No. 4

ISRAEL: ANNUAL REVIEW FOR 1956

Sir John Nicholls to Mr. Selwyn Lloyd. (Received February 26)(No. 25. Confidential) Tel Aviv,
Sir, February 19, 1957.

I have the honour to submit a brief review of developments in Israel in 1956, together with a chronological table of events.

2. Once again the problem of Israel's relations with her Arab neighbours dominated the stage, though in 1956, for the first time since the War of Independence, hostility and border incidents exploded into active hostilities. In the light of the events of October and November, it is ironical to reflect that the year opened with Israel in a chastened mood; the savage and uncalled-for attack on Syrian forces at the end of the previous year had provoked widespread criticism and anxiety in Israel, and there seemed every reason to think that Mr. Ben-Gurion himself was ready for second thoughts about the wisdom of a policy based on reprisals. Certainly there was no reason to doubt the sincerity of his statement to the Knesset on the 2nd of January that the maintenance of even an uneasy peace was preferable to even a victorious war.

3. These encouraging signs, in so far as they were not misleading, were falsified by events. On the Israeli side, tension built up again as Syrian mobilisation and pressure from the Western Powers prevented the long-deferred resumption of work on the B'not Yaakov irrigation project, while a virtual ban on the sale of Western arms to Israel increased the general sense of frustration. On the Egyptian border and along the Gaza Strip incidents multiplied and a substantial build-up of forces on either side of the Demarcation Line added to the general nervousness. The Security Council decided on the 4th of April to ask the Secretary-General to investigate, on the spot, this rapidly deteriorating situation, and Mr. Hammarskjold left at once for the Middle East. On the eve of his arrival, however, the Israel Government launched a heavy bombardment of the town of Gaza, ostensibly in reply to Egyptian shelling of a frontier settlement; and this in turn provoked a wave of fedayeen attacks from the Gaza Strip, causing numerous casualties and much damage well within Israel. By

the 18th of April Mr. Hammarskjold had succeeded in negotiating a cease-fire along the Egyptian and Gaza border which for some months then returned to its normal state of intermittent violence.

4. Attention then turned to Israel's other neighbours, and in particular to Jordan, where the dismissal of General Glubb on the 3rd of March can, I think, fairly be described as the first link in the chain of events which in October led to the Israeli invasion of Sinai. The successive stages in Egypt's campaign to replace British influence in Jordan caused deep anxiety in Israel. The removal of British officers from executive commands in the Arab Legion meant that the latter could no longer be counted on to exercise a moderating influence along the frontier. The Nationalist pro-Egyptian elements became more vocal, and the prospect of their accession to political and military power opened up disagreeable prospects of combined fedayeen operations against Israel from two sides. Indeed, there was already evidence enough that the Egyptians were organising fedayeen attacks from Jordan, and also from Syria and the Lebanon. Finally, the dissolution of the Jordan Parliament in June, the landslide victory of the pro-Egyptian parties in the October election, and the agreement of the 24th of October for the formation of a joint Egyptian-Jordan-Syrian General Staff seemed to Israelis final proof that Egyptian plans for the encirclement and destruction of Israel were approaching completion.

5. During this process, as so often happens, fears of catastrophe created an atmosphere conducive to events calculated to make catastrophe certain. In September and the first part of October a series of murderous attacks mounted from Jordan led to Israeli reprisals of increasing severity; in each case a border police station was attacked and demolished, with heavy casualties. The Jordanian Government regarded these operations as the prelude to a full-scale attack by Israel, and invited Iraq to station forces inside Jordan as a deterrent to Israel. Israel considered that such a step would be a threat to her own

security, and announced that she reserved full freedom of action. Her Majesty's Government were obliged to remind Israel that the Anglo-Jordan Treaty was still in force and that any attack on Jordan would involve British intervention. In the event, no Iraqi troops entered Jordan at this time; for pro-Egyptian elements in that country were already in the ascendant, and the election on the 21st of October made it certain that Jordan would look to Egypt for protection rather than to Iraq, with her Western connections and sympathies.

6. On the 24th of October, the first signs of mobilisation in Israel became apparent. It was carried out, as usual, inconspicuously and efficiently, and a striking-force of some 16 brigades had been assembled almost before anyone could say positively that the scale of mobilisation was more than could be attributed to normal precautionary measures. Moreover, though the movement of troops was plainly southward, this was not in itself evidence of aggressive intentions against Egypt; it could be interpreted either as a defensive measure designed to prevent a combined attempt by Egypt and Jordan to cut off the southern Negev or as a move to immobilise Egypt pending the preparation of an assault on Jordan.

7. In the event, it was of course against Egypt that the Israel defence forces moved on the evening of the 29th of October. The campaign need not be described in detail here; it will suffice to say that the Egyptian forces in Sinai and the Gaza Strip showed themselves incapable of effective opposition and fled in disorder across the Suez Canal, leaving nearly 6,000 prisoners and huge quantities of warlike stores in Israeli hands. By the 4th of November, the whole peninsula was cleared of enemy troops; but the campaign really ended on the 2nd of November with the capture of Gaza, and the issue had already been decided in Israel's favour before Egypt's air force had been crippled by the Anglo-French intervention. None of the Arab States had lifted a finger to assist Egypt, though Iraq, Syria and Saudi Arabia all moved troops into Jordan, ostensibly to demonstrate Arab solidarity.

8. Israel's satisfaction with the speed and scope of her victory was short-lived. On the 16th of November Mr. Ben-Gurion affirmed triumphantly in the Knesset that the Armistice Agreement with Egypt was dead, that Israel would not hand over Sinai

to foreign forces, and that she was ready for direct discussions with Egypt. The following night, after receiving a message from President Eisenhower, he informed the country in a radio broadcast that Israel would withdraw her forces "from Egypt." By the end of the year, under constant pressure from the United Nations, the first stages of the withdrawal from Sinai had taken place, but it was already clear that Israel had no intention of allowing the Egyptians to return to the Gaza Strip or to re-establish their control of the Straits of Tiran.

9. Thus the year ended with the menacing prospect of a head-on clash on these two issues between Israel and the United Nations, in which Israel risked finding herself almost wholly isolated. True, a number of countries realised that the United Nations would have failed if, in the end, it showed itself powerless to do more than re-establish the *status quo ante*. But the United States Government, bidding strongly for Afro-Asian support, was determined to see that the aggressor should obtain no benefit from his aggression, and rigidly insisted upon unconditional withdrawal; while Her Majesty's Government for their part felt unable to endanger their relations with Iraq by giving direct support to Israel's plea that withdrawal should be accompanied by adequate guarantees for the safety of her borders and for unrestricted access to Eilat. From the international point of view, Israel's situation was thus almost as bad as it could be; and it would be necessary to write the Sinai campaign off as a dead loss but for two factors—the first being that Israel had successfully demonstrated her overwhelming military superiority over her neighbours, and the second that the world at large had been brought to realise the difficulties of Israel's situation and the need to prevent a recrudescence of the frontier troubles which had led her to invade Sinai.

10. These events were not without their effects upon Israel's foreign relations. The United States, already unpopular as the result of their refusal to supply arms, had fallen steadily in Israeli estimation during the earlier stages of the Suez Canal crisis. The American attitude to the Sinai campaign and to Anglo-French intervention, and the lead taken by the United States on the question of withdrawal, brought American prestige in Israel to the lowest possible ebb. Israel's attitude to the United

Kingdom varied erratically; unfriendly and suspicious when we supported the entry of Iraqi troops into Jordan, it became enthusiastically cordial when we intervened in Egypt; our withdrawal caused profound disillusionment, but a common hostility to Egypt and such sympathy as we were able to show at the United Nations left Anglo-Israeli relations appreciably better than they had been at the beginning of the year. The Government still believes that our policy *vis-à-vis* the Arabs is misguided, but no longer, I think, suspects our motives. France, by supplying arms and by overt political support, assured herself of wide popularity. The Soviet Union, already feared and mistrusted, made herself still more disliked, even in neutralist and fellow-travelling circles, by her political and military support of Egypt, her intrigues in Syria and her violent interventions during the Suez crisis and the Sinai campaign. Other countries call for no special mention.

11. Internal affairs in 1956 were more than usually overshadowed by external events. The coalition, despite various stresses and strains, held together without serious difficulty, though in February the Progressive Party's sole representative in the Cabinet resigned for a time in protest against the Government's decision to cut down the long overdue pay increases promised in 1955 to civil servants and other professionals in Government employment. The main political conflict within the coalition was, however, not between the coalition parties but within Mapai; and it was a conflict of personal loyalties rather than of principle. It led on the 18th of June to the resignation of Mr. Sharett from his post as Foreign Minister, and his replacement by Mrs. Myerson, who subsequently hebraicized her name to Meir. It was widely believed at the time that the change heralded the introduction of an "activist" foreign policy and that Mr. Ben-Gurion had deliberately intrigued his principal lieutenant out of office so as not to be hampered by Mr. Sharett's policy of moderation. The real issue was, I think, rather one of personal incompatibility; but it must remain an open question whether the Sinai campaign would have taken place if Mr. Sharett had remained in office. Whatever rifts remained in the unity of Mapai were healed, or at least papered over, when the Sinai invasion took place; and, indeed, apart from the opposition of the Communists and some reservations on the

part of Mapam, the campaign evoked a remarkable demonstration of national and political unity.

12. On the economic front no sensational changes took place in 1956, although continued inflationary tendencies, the inadequacy of exports and the defects of the wage structure seemed to call for more vigorous action than they in fact received. The Sinai campaign caused a certain setback to production, but was too brief to have any far-reaching adverse effects on the economy. By the end of the year exports had picked up appreciably, and the year's total will probably show an increase of more than 20 per cent. over the preceding year's figures. Even so, they cover only one-third of total import needs, and the extent of Israel's dependence on the sale of bonds abroad, the gifts of foreign Jewry and German reparations was brought home sharply to Israelis when it was reported that President Eisenhower had secured Israel's withdrawal from Sinai by hinting at a possible blockage of Jewish contributions from the United States. Nevertheless, the inherent weaknesses of the Israeli economy have not been allowed to interfere with capital investment on a substantial scale. New industries are being started, communications are being steadily improved, the merchant fleet has been further increased, and a number of major enterprises founded in the last few years are now beginning to make their contribution to the national economy. Given a period of reasonable stability in Arab-Israel relations and a responsible attitude on the part of the Histadrut towards the still unsolved problem of wage-rates, I see no reason why Israel should not make steady progress towards her goal of economic independence by 1964-5.

I have, &c.

J. NICHOLLS.

Enclosure

Chronological List of Principal Events in Israel during 1956

January

- 2 Ben-Gurion declared in Knesset debate on Israel's security situation that maintenance of peace was preferable even to victory in war.
- 19 The United Nations Security Council approved unanimously a Western resolution condemning Israel for her attack on Syrian gun positions on shores of Lake Kinneret on December 11.
- 31 £1.50 million supplementary defence budget for 1955-56 passed by the Knesset.

February

- 6 Civil servants and doctors strike for higher wages.
- 28 Rumours of resumption of work on the Jordan waters scheme lead to Syrian mobilisation.
- 29 Mr. Ben-Gurion declares Israel will continue to do everything to prevent war.

March

- 11 Israel requested United Nations Treaty Supervision Organisation to investigate Egyptian troop concentrations in the Gaza and El Arish areas.
- 12 Committee appointed by Israel Prime Minister issued report recommending the continuation of military government in the predominantly Arab areas.
- 13 Secretary of State arrived in Israel.
- 14 Israel complain to Security Council about the deterioration of the situation in the Gaza Strip and the menacing build-up of Egyptian forces.
- 22 Knesset passed the 1956-57 budget amounting to £1.768.3 million, of which the development budget accounts for £1.306.7 million.
- 29 Five Israeli prisoners exchanged for thirty-five Syrian prisoners.
- 74-kilometre railway line connecting Tel Aviv and Beersheba inaugurated.

April

- 4 United Nations Security Council agreed unanimously to send Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld to the Middle East to survey the tense situation on the Israel-Arab borders.
- 5 Israelis bombard Gaza, causing heavy civilian casualties.
- 7 Approximately 170 fedayeen launched against southern Israel from Gaza Strip.
- 10 France announces twelve Mystère jets on way to Israel.
- 11 Wave of fedayeen attacks from Gaza Strip reaches a climax in attack on a school synagogue near Ramleh in which three boys were killed.
- 16 Israel celebrated 8th Independence Day.
- 19 Mr. Hammarskjöld announced ceasefire along the demarcation line with effect from 6 p.m. on April 18.
- 29 Israeli settlement guard at Nahal Oz on the Gaza Strip mutilated and murdered.

May

- 9 Announcement that Israel had applied to Export-Import Bank for \$75 million long-term loan to finance development of underground water resources.

June

- 2 Opening performance of London Festival Ballet in Tel Aviv.
- 18 Prime Minister announced resignation of Mr. Sharett as Foreign Minister and appointment of Mrs. Meir, formerly Minister of Labour, in his stead.
- 20 Two "Z" class destroyers purchased from Britain arrived at Haifa. Re-named *Jaffa* and *Eilat*.
- 28 Mr. Ben-Gurion complained of Jordanian attacks to General Burns.
- Israel complained to Security Council against Egyptian refusal to permit the Greek vessel s.s. *Panagia*, bound from Haifa to Eilat, to pass through the Suez Canal.

July

- 5 Israel denied Arab allegations that she was concentrating troops along the Jordan border.
- 11 Mustafa Hafez, Commander of Fedayeen in Gaza Strip, killed in explosion of a parcel-bomb.
- 14 Salah Mustapha, Egyptian Military Attaché in Amman, also killed by a parcel-bomb.
- 15 Draft law empowering local authorities to prohibit or restrict the sale of pork and pig products approved by Cabinet.
- 17 Israel-USSR trade agreement signed.
- 24 Two United Nations observers injured by anti-personnel mine whilst investigating a house on Mount Scopus.
- 25 United Nations observer wounded when an investigation team was fired on by Jordanian villagers at Beit Surik.
- General Burns delivered an appeal from United Nations Secretary-General to Mrs. Meir for the maintenance of calm on the borders.
- Prolonged exchange of fire near new settlement in Jerusalem Corridor.
- 26 Israel delegate notified Security Council of the "extreme gravity of the situation" resulting from "incessant attacks" on the Jordan border.
- 28 United Nations radio officer killed by the explosion of an Egyptian mine near Gaza Strip.

August

- 16 Four civilians killed in ambush of Israeli bus and two escorting jeeps 80 kilometres north of Eilat. Israeli truck struck mine near Sde Boker and many passengers were injured.
- Nine Egyptian soldiers killed in two separate reprisals in the Gaza Strip.
- 22 Strike of Dan and Egged bus co-operatives for 15 per cent. increase in fares.
- 29 Two Israeli soldiers killed when their vehicle was mined in El Auja demilitarised zone.
- 30 Thirteen Egyptian soldiers killed in three encounters in the Rafa area.

September

- 1 Israel calls on Egypt to lift restrictions on Israel-bound shipping through Suez Canal in accordance with United Nations Security Resolution of September 1, 1951.
- 10 Jordanians fire on Israeli map-reading party near Dawayima, killing seven.
- 11 Israelis demolish Jordanian police station at Rahwa.
- 12 Three Druze watchmen murdered near Jordan border at Ofarin.
- 13 Canada announced staged release of twenty-four F.86 Sabre jet fighters to Israel.
- 23 Dr. Giora Josephthal elected Secretary-General of Mapai.
- Jordanian soldier fired on group attending open-air archaeological lecture in Jerusalem, killing five civilians.
- 24 Two more Israelis killed near Jordan border. Israeli reprisal on Jordanian police station at Husan.

October

- 3 Israel announced that she would no longer participate in the routine examination of incidents by the Israel-Jordan Mixed Armistice Commission.

October

- 4 Five Israelis killed in ambush on the Sdom-Beersheba highway.
- 9 Two agricultural workers murdered and mutilated near Tel Aviv-Haifa road.
- 10 Israel Defence Forces attack Jordanian police station at Kilkilya.
- 11 Hebrew University acquired first cyclotron of 1 million volts as a gift from Cornell University.
- 12 Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires informed Foreign Minister of projected entry of Iraqi units into Jordan.
- 15 Ben-Gurion reiterated Israel's opposition to stationing of Iraqi troops in Jordan and reserved Israel's freedom of action.
- 21 Three Israeli soldiers killed and twenty-seven wounded by land mines in El Auja demilitarised zone.
- 22 Israel Ambassadors in United States, USSR, France and Britain hold consultations with Knesset Foreign Affairs Committee in Jerusalem.
- 24 First signs of Israeli mobilisation.
- 28 Israel Government announce call-up of some reserves.
- 29 Israel Defence Forces launched an attack on the Sinai peninsula.
- 31 Border police kill fifty Arab villagers.
- 31 Israel Government accepted Anglo-French ultimatum.

November

- 2 Surrender of Gaza.
- 4 Israel agrees to accept United Nations ceasefire.
- 5 Five questions put by Mrs. Meir to United Nations Secretary-General concerning Egypt's intentions.

November

- 5 Soviet Union recalled its Ambassador from Israel.
- 6 Ceasefire confirmed by all parties.
- 7 Mr. Ben-Gurion's report to Knesset on Sinai operation approved by all but the three Communist members.
- 9 Mr. Ben-Gurion, under United States pressure, announced willingness to withdraw Israel forces from Sinai.
- Agreement reached with U.N.R.W.A. for continuation of assistance to refugees in Gaza Strip.
- 12 Israel troops fired on rioters in Rafa.
- 18 Israel ship *Queen of Sheba* arrived at Eilat, the first since the Gulf was reopened.
- 30 Mrs. Meir appealed to United Nations Secretary-General about the persecution of Egyptian Jews.
- Governor of Bank of Israel made special report to Government and Finance Committee following an increase in the means of payments by 17.5 per cent.

December

- 6 El Al resumes air service to Johannesburg.
- 11 Fifteen-minute stoppage of work in Israel as a token of sympathy with the Hungarian rebels.
- 18 Opening of Acre steelworks with its £1 million worth of British equipment.
- 19 Ben-Gurion declared that "Israel will not agree in any circumstances to the return of the Egyptian invaders to the Gaza Strip."
- 25 Israel frigate *Misnak* arrived in Eilat.

VR 1081/268

No. 5

ISRAELI VIEWS ON THE QUESTION OF FREE ACCESS TO THE GULF OF AQABA AND OF THE GAZA STRIP

Mr. Selwyn Lloyd to Sir John Nicholls (Tel Aviv)

No. 39. Confidential)

Foreign Office,

February 26, 1957.

Sir,

The Israel Ambassador called on Mr. Ross on the 25th of February. He said that the Prime Minister's remarks to him of the 21st of February, reported in my telegram No. 205, had been well received by the Israel Government, even though the Ambassador had duly warned them that there was medicine under the jam. He had pointed out that Her Majesty's Government had to act within certain limits, imposed particularly by our interest in Middle East oil and by the forthcoming Bermuda Conference. Nevertheless the Israel Government felt that the Prime Minister had again demonstrated the sympathetic interest with which Her Majesty's Government viewed Israel's cause.

2. The Ambassador then said that he would like to tell Mr. Ross about Mr. Eban's instructions. The Israel Government had in fact decided to go to the limit in order to meet the United States point of view. They could not, however, go beyond the limit without endangering the security of the State. It might be an exaggeration to talk of the risk of civil war but the Government would certainly be under intolerable pressure not only from the Right-wing Herut but from the moderate Left Andut Avoda. The latter had close affiliations with the border settlements. The Government would certainly disintegrate. Apart from these internal considerations the Israel Government could not conceive that it was in anybody's interest that Colonel Nasser should appear to have won. It was not a question of Israel fighting the United Nations, but of whether Colonel Nasser got away with it again.

3. Coming to the two bones of contention the Ambassador said that there was not much difficulty about the Gulf of Aqaba. Israel wanted to be sure that navigation would remain free. Mr. Elath at first spoke as if he contemplated a convention to this end but under questioning he assured Mr. Ross that it was only a matter of Governments—the more the better—stating the principle and acting accordingly. The Israel Government would take note of such statements and announce that they for their part stood for the principle of free navigation adding that of course they reserved the right to act immediately in self-defence in the event of any departure from the principle by any Power. In this connexion there must of course be no special arrangements with Egypt such as the giving of 72 hours' notice of passage through the Straits.

4. Mr. Ross told the Ambassador that the United Kingdom saw the matter in much the same light. The Minister of State had already put Her Majesty's Government's position on record and the Prime Minister would be saying something to the same effect that afternoon. Speaking personally, however, Mr. Ross ventured to suggest that there was a danger of overdoing things. Any ostentatious assertion of the right in question by a number of vessels belonging to different countries might do more harm than good. What was wanted was that people should take it as a matter of course that we passed the Straits as and when it suited us. Mr. Elath said he entirely agreed.

5. The Ambassador then spoke of the move of United Nations forces to Sharm el Sheikh. Mr. Eban would have to follow this up with the United States and with Mr. Hammarskjöld. It would not be sufficient that the United Nations Emergency Force should move in on Israel's withdrawal, only to move out as soon as Colonel Nasser said their presence was unwelcome. Mr. Ross got the impression that the stationing of United Nations forces at the Straits was a course which Israel would welcome in addition to the exercise of the right of free passage; it would only be an acceptable alternative provided that it was clearly understood that the forces would stay indefinitely.

6. Mr. Elath went on to say that while his Government saw comparatively little difficulty on the Gulf of Aqaba the question of Gaza was much more serious. They were not out to annex it or to stake out a claim to receive it under a future

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VR 1081/268

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6. Mr. Elath went on to say that while his Government saw comparatively little difficulty on the Gulf of Aqaba the question of Gaza was much more serious. They were not out to annex it or to stake out a claim to receive it under a future

settlement. But they were absolutely determined that Egypt should not return even as administering the civil Government. If this happened Israel would have to throw her out again. The Israel forces would certainly withdraw, but there should be a United Nations Commission sent to enquire into the best arrangements to be made for the administration of the area, with particular reference to the social and economic well being of the inhabitants. The Israel Government in their own interest and in the general interest would give the Commission every possible assistance. The Ambassador believed that on this point the views of our two Governments were in line inasmuch as Her Majesty's Government had declared in favour of a United Nations administration. Mr. Ross pointed out that there might in fact be a slight difference between us in that, while we certainly were against the return of Egypt, we might have to exclude Israel as well, leaving the inhabitants to administer themselves pending the establishment of a United Nations administration. The Ambassador did not seem to think that this mattered very much. In reply to a question he confirmed that his Government had done their best to set up a purely local administration and to encourage a sense of independence both of Israel and of Egypt. This was, after all, in their own interest since the more contented and self-reliant the inhabitants were the less likely they were to fall for Egyptian intrigues and to be exploited for raids on Israel.

7. As the Ambassador referred to the helpful attitude of the Canadians Mr. Ross told him in very general terms that the prospects looked fairly good for a Canadian resolution, or even for an American resolution of a similar nature. He did not of course go into details. When the Ambassador asked whether we supported the Canadians Mr. Ross said that we did.

I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Representatives at Baghdad, Paris and Washington, to the Permanent United Kingdom Delegate at the United Nations, to the United Kingdom High Commissioner in Ottawa and to the Political Office with the Middle East Forces.

I am, &c.

SELWYN LLOYD.

VR 1891/2

No. 6

**PRESENTATION OF CREDENTIALS BY SIR FRANCIS RUNDALL AS
HER MAJESTY'S AMBASSADOR TO ISRAEL ON APRIL 30, 1957**

Sir Francis Rundall to Mr. Selwyn Lloyd. (Received April 30)

(No. 50. Confidential)
Sir,

Tel Aviv,
April 30, 1957.

With reference to your despatch No. 59 (PF 401) of April 3, I have the honour to report that I presented by credentials to-day to the President of Israel at Jerusalem.

2. I had previously been received by the Israel Foreign Minister, Mrs. Meir, on April 29, when I handed over copies of my credentials and took advantage of this occasion to call upon senior members of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. The extremely friendly reception accorded me by Mrs. Meir and her staff was, I know, a tribute to the excellent relations which had been established by Sir John Nicholls.

3. The presentation ceremony followed exactly the same pattern as that described by my predecessor in his despatch No. 200 of November 13, 1954. I also wore uniform and was accompanied by my Head of Chancery, First Secretary (Commercial), the Military Attaché and the Air Attaché. The Guard of Honour was mounted by the Israel Navy, which the Chef du Protocol informed me was a refinement reserved for British Ambassadors. It is perhaps worth reporting, as a possible indication of public feeling towards the United Kingdom, that there was some cheering and clapping in the crowd when we came out of the President's house.

4. I have the honour to enclose a copy of my short speech to the President and a translation of his reply. It will be noted that Mr. Ben Zvi took up the point about our common desire for peace which I had made. Nothing significant was said in our conversation after the ceremony, but the President was clearly very proud of a specimen of long-staple Israeli cotton with which the reception room was decorated. He told me that Israel hoped to have an exportable surplus of this cotton before very long.

I have, &c.

FRANCIS RUNDALL.

Enclosure 1

Mr. President,

I have the honour to hand to Your Excellency the letters by which The Queen, My Gracious Sovereign, accredits me as Her Ambassador for the United Kingdom to Israel, as well as the letter of recall of my predecessor.

I am deeply conscious of the honour which Her Majesty has done me in entrusting me with this mission. It goes without saying that I shall do all that lies in my power to maintain and strengthen the friendly relations that so happily exist between our two countries.

The Government of the United Kingdom have followed with interest and with admiration the remarkable development of the State of Israel, in the face of many difficulties, during the past nine years. My country wishes the Israeli people a fruitful outcome to this continuing task, and one worthy of the skill and dedication with which it has been carried out.

The United Kingdom Government have a common interest with the Government of Israel in the establishment and maintenance in the Middle East of peace with justice under law. I shall do my utmost to further this objective, and I know that I shall have in this the full understanding and co-operation of your Excellency's Government.

SECRET

Enclosure 2

Mr. Ambassador,

It is with great pleasure that I welcome you here in Jerusalem, the capital of Israel, as the Ambassador of Her Britannic Majesty.

I highly value Her Majesty's Government's attitude of understanding and appreciation towards Israel as conveyed in your kind words about the development and reconstruction carried out in this country. It is my earnest hope that during your tenure of office in our country you will learn to know the desire of the Government and people of Israel to deepen the understanding and to strengthen the ties of friendship between Great Britain and Israel.

You have rightly pointed out that the Government of the United Kingdom and the Government of Israel have the common objective of establishing in this part of the world peace with justice under law. This aspiration for peace has always been the guiding principle of Israel's policy. I am confident that, with the good will and sincere effort of our two Governments and of the Governments of other peace-loving countries, it will be possible to attain this noble goal.

I wish to assure your Excellency that in the discharge of your mission you will enjoy the friendly support and help of the Government of Israel and of myself. I trust that in fulfilling the duties of your new office you will make a further contribution to the existing relations of friendship between our peoples and Governments.

I have the honour to enclose a copy of my short speech to the President and members of the Council of the Hebrew University. It will be noted that Mr. Ben-Zion took up the point about our common desire for peace which I had made. Nothing significant was said in our conversation after the ceremony, but the President was clearly very grateful to a speaker of long-standing Jewish connection with which the reception room was decorated. He told me that he had hoped to have an enjoyable surprise of this nature before very long.

I have &c.

FRANCIS RUNDALL

Enclosure 1

Mr. President,
I have the honour to hand to Your Excellency the letter by which The Queen's Government has accepted the nomination of Mr. Selwyn Lloyd as Her Majesty's Ambassador to the State of Israel, as well as the letter of recall of my predecessor.

I am deeply conscious of the honour which Her Majesty has done me in entrusting me with this mission. It goes without saying that I shall do all that is in my power to maintain and strengthen the friendly relations that so happily exist between our two countries.

The Government of the United Kingdom have followed with interest and with admiration the remarkable development of the State of Israel in the face of many difficulties during the past years. My country wishes the Jewish people a fruitful outcome to the continuing task, and the worthy of the skill and dedication with which it has been carried out.

The United Kingdom Government have a common interest with the Government of Israel in the establishment and maintenance in the Middle East of peace with justice under law. I shall do my utmost to further this objective and I know that I shall have in this the full understanding and co-operation of your Excellency's Government.

SECRET

SECRET

VR 1017/1

No. 7

THE 13th CONGRESS OF THE ISRAELI COMMUNIST PARTY (M.A.K.I.)

Sir Francis Rundall to Mr. Selwyn Lloyd. (Received June 17)

(No. 65. Confidential)

Tel Aviv,

Sir,

June 12, 1957.

I have the honour to inform you that the 13th Congress of the Israeli Communist Party (the Miflega Kommunistit Israelit or M.A.K.I.) was held in Jaffa between May 29 and June 1. It was attended by 274 delegates a large minority of whom were Arabs.

2. The previous Congress, held as long ago as May 1952, was reported in Sir Francis Evans' despatch No. 187 of June 13 of that year. Since then the party, particularly its dominant Jewish element, has suffered a series of setbacks which have progressively undermined both its impact on the country (which was in any case never great) and its internal cohesion. Its fundamental difficulty has been and remains that of reconciling Zionist Jews to Soviet policy, made explicit in the Communist view that Zionism is a bourgeois reactionary ideology. This difficulty has been thrown into sharp relief by such events as the Slansky trial, the murder of Jewish writers, the suppression of Jewish culture and religion in Russia, and the imprisonment of Oren in Prague. Even more damaging has been the Czech-Egyptian arms deal and the notably anti-Israel policy of the Soviet Union during and since the Sinai campaign. All this, on top of the Khrushchev revelations at the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party and the suppression of the Hungarian revolt, has brought about in the past few months a steady though undramatic stream of resignations from the party itself and, perhaps more important, a loss of influence upon the Left-wing Socialists in Mapam and Achdut Avoda.

3. Even so, the party has shown considerable powers of recovery. It has always been well disciplined and has rarely, if ever, deviated from the strict Moscow line. Nevertheless months of backroom activity has been necessary to produce the desired show on unanimity at the 13th Congress which, in consequence, had to be postponed from last November. Even then, most sessions of the Congress were held in private. No chances were taken.

4. Press reports indicate that the main theme of the Congress, as could be expected, was a condemnation of Mr. Ben Gurion's Government for maintaining, indeed extending, its ties with "Western imperialism" in particular through the Eisenhower doctrine, and for ignoring the Soviet peace proposals for the Middle East. The Congress called for these ties to be broken and for the Government instead to come to terms with the Arab States (and the Palestinian Arabs) by first recognising their "just national rights". This time these were not defined. Previous M.A.K.I. declarations on the subject had demanded a return to the 1947 partition boundaries and the repatriation of all Arab refugees. This softening of the line may have been intended to propitiate discontented Jewish elements in the party.

5. The Congress closed with the election of a new Central Committee of 20 members, five more than the outgoing one, and a five-member Control Committee. The party's Politbureau is to be appointed later by the Central Committee. Mr. S. Mikunis (Personalities No. 82) remains the Secretary-General, but Dr. M. Sneh (Personalities No. 116), possibly the most able of the party's leaders, continues to gain ground. His appointment to the Central Committee has been confirmed and he has now also become editor of the party's hard-pressed newspaper *Kol Ha'am*.

6. M.A.K.I.'s parliamentary strength remains weak; six members out of 120 in the Knesset, but it has a substantial following among Israeli Arabs. It is likely that at least of a third of the 39,000 people (4 per cent.) who voted for their candidates at the General Election in July 1955 were Arabs and subsequent events may well have strengthened its hold on Israeli Arabs commensurably with the weakening of its hold on Israeli Jews. The party itself probably now has less than 3,000 members. But it is not, of course, the numbers that matter, but rather the

SECRET

party's character as a willing tool of Moscow; a function which becomes more dangerous as the Soviet Union plays an increasing role in Middle East politics and becomes more and more committed to the Arabs. Fortunately the Israel Government are fully aware of this.

I have, &c.

F. B. A. RUNDALL.

THE 13th CONGRESS OF THE ISRAELI COMMUNIST PARTY (M.A.K.I.)

1. The 13th Congress of the Israeli Communist Party (M.A.K.I.) was held in Tel Aviv from 15 to 22 June 1957. It was the first time since the 11th Congress in 1953 that the party had held a congress in its own country. The congress was attended by 1,200 delegates, including 1,000 members of the party and 200 non-members. The congress was held in the Hotel Ma'ariv, Tel Aviv.

2. The congress was opened by the General Secretary, Dr. M. Zuckerman, who stressed the importance of the congress in the history of the party. He said that the congress was a landmark in the development of the party and its role in the struggle for the liberation of the Jewish people.

3. The congress was held in a spirit of unity and solidarity. The delegates elected a new Central Committee and a new Politburo. The new Central Committee was elected by a vote of 1,100 to 100. The new Politburo was elected by a vote of 1,000 to 100.

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VR 10317/10

No. 8

THE CONTINUED DEVELOPMENT OF FRENCH RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL

Sir Francis Rundall to Mr. Selwyn Lloyd. (Received June 24)

(No. 70. Confidential)

Sir,

Tel Aviv,

June 20, 1957.

I have the honour to report that before his departure for consultations with M. Bourges Maunoury's new Government on the 13th of June, M. Perre Gilbert, the French Ambassador, publicly stressed that the relations between France and Israel were excellent and would remain so in the future. He remarked that the new French Prime Minister was one of Israel's greatest friends.

2. The vigour of these assertions may have indicated passionate hope more than firm conviction, as my French colleague has hitched his personal wagon to this particular star and has told me more than once that he dealt direct with M. Mollet without bothering about the Quai d'Orsay. Whether in fact the new French Government, or its successors, will for long wish to maintain their present active co-operation with Israel only Her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris can assess, but it certainly seems that on their part the Israelis will be keen to continue it for the foreseeable future. Opinion here, right or wrong, seems to be that Arab hatred of Israel is so strong that her alliance with France is not likely seriously to prejudice the chances of an Arab-Israel settlement. In any case the Israelis are convinced that such a settlement is a long way off and that as Colonel Nasser with his Communist support remains a considerable menace, Israel will need all the diplomatic and military assistance that France can afford her.

3. There is no doubt that French co-operation has not significantly declined since my predecessor wrote his despatch No. 17 of the 4th of February on the subject. No really important supplies of French arms seem to have arrived since the new year; but with the probable exception of jet aircraft Israel has had no pressing need for arms since seizing so much war booty in Sinai. As to aircraft, there is some evidence that the Israelis expect to receive another jet squadron this summer.

4. However, French co-operation has found considerable expression in other ways. Particularly noteworthy has been the large number of visits of high-ranking people connected either now or in the recent past with French defence policy. M. Diomede Catroux, a former French Minister of Aviation and Armaments (and Vice-President of the apparently thriving France-Israel Friendship League), visited Israel as a guest of the Ministry of Defence in late April. Soon after, under the same auspices, MM. L. Christiens and J. Crouzier, both former French Defence Ministers, spent a week touring and talking. Numerous French staff officers have also visited the country, usually in mufti, often indeed without mention in the Press, and a number of French Military Instructors are at work here. Two generals, Gustave Jarrot and André Martin, the latter the Assistant to the French Deputy Chief of Staff, were present at Israel's Independence Day Parade. The French Ambassador has furthermore taken every opportunity to stress the permanence of Franco-Israel friendship in numerous speeches to every kind of audience.

5. Possibly more important in the long run, French efforts to further cultural and economic penetration of Israel, as described in paragraph 4 of my predecessor's despatch under reference, have continued unabated. Early in April the French agreed to extend credit to Israel to a total of \$30 million for three to five years under their export credits guarantee scheme. It is said that two-thirds of this sum will be for capital equipment. This is separate from any question of credits for a larger pipeline from Eilat to the Mediterranean and for other major projects like the Haifa underground tunnel, the Kishon Shipyard, the Eilat Port and the Eilat-Beersheba railway.

6. Apart from visitors concerned with these, there has been a mounting stream of French cultural personalities and delegations including the Chief Rabbi of France with a party of French Zionists and M. Georges Duhamel the author. A French Book Exhibition is on tour and a Film Festival is due next month. The French

are steadily going ahead with their plans to exploit their influence with the large and growing French-speaking population—particularly from North Africa—in so far as they can do so without prejudicing the Government's basic policy of spreading Hebrew. They plan to add to their cultural centres in the three major cities new ones in Natanya and Beit She'an, to introduce travelling libraries and to open in Tel Aviv a secondary school for 1,200 pupils whose first foreign language would be French.

7. Despite all this evidence, it is clearly too soon to modify the views expressed by Sir John Nicholls in paragraphs 5 and 6 of his despatch under reference. The present relationship between France and Israel remains one of mutual political and strategic interest and, on the Israel side at least, would seem to consist more of gratitude for current French policy than of regard for French institutions and character. Whilst we should not minimise Israeli satisfaction at having achieved at last a close relationship with a Western Power, France's policy is probably regarded largely as evidence of her clear-sightedness as compared with the obtuseness of the United States and ourselves. This would, I think, be the view held in Government circles, and it is interesting to note that the more extreme Left-wing Press, particularly *Al Hamishmar* (Mapam) and *Lamerhav* (Achdut Avoda) voice from time to time their doubts about the value and permanence of the relationship. This may be due in part to the ideological outlook of the Left-wing parties, who retain their prejudice in favour of closer relations with the "Socialist camp" and remains traditionally anti-colonialist. Press and public opinion become more enthusiastic about the relationship as it moves to the Right of the political spectrum—Herut on the extreme Right wing is its only unqualified supporter. One would nevertheless expect the present situation to continue until either there were prospect of some rapprochement between the French and the Arabs over North Africa or some tangible progress towards a settlement of the Arab-Israeli problem.

8. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassadors at Paris and Washington, and to the Political Office, Middle East Forces.

I have, &c.

F. B. A. RUNDALL.

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VR 1533/1

No. 9

CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND
THE ISRAELI AMBASSADOR ON JULY 15, 1957

Mr. Selwyn Lloyd to Sir Francis Rundall (Tel Aviv)

(No. 123. Confidential) *Foreign Office,*
Sir, *July 17, 1957.*

The Israeli Ambassador called on the 15th of July to protest against the decision by Shell to withdraw from Israel. He was accompanied by Mr. Koslov, of the Israel Fuel Corporation and Oil Adviser to the Israeli Government.

2. The Ambassador prefaced his remarks by referring to the representations already made to Your Excellency by the Israeli Foreign Minister. The general tenor of his representations was similar to that of Mrs. Meir. He said that the Oil Companies' proposed action reflected the deliberate policy of appeasing the Arabs which had been embarked by Her Majesty's Government after Suez. It would not only set a bad example to the Iranian Government—Israel hoped to continue to receive substantial quantities of crude oil from Iran—but it would also mean that other British interests in Israel would sooner or later be obliged to follow suit. The Arab boycott would be strengthened, the Arabs would become more intransigent than ever and any chances of an Arab-Israel rapprochement would be lost.

3. Mr. Elath stressed that the Israeli Government were greatly concerned that this was the beginning of a move to stop oil supplies to Israel. This would lead to the strangulation of Israel's economy. In reply to questioning, Mr. Koslov admitted that the Companies had not stated an intention to stop supplies. They had however refused to supply Iranian crude for some time, although American Companies had been supplying this regularly. Israel wished to buy Iranian crude, both because it was cheap and because it was in accordance with Israel's long-term aim of integration in the Middle East.

4. Mr. Koslov said that the Companies, particularly Shell, had made it clear to him that the motive behind their decision was political. Shell had blamed Her Majesty's Government and said that if they could have been assured of stronger backing they would have been prepared to remain in Israel.

5. In conclusion Mr. Elath requested vehemently that Her Majesty's Government

should bring pressure on the Oil Companies to reverse their decision. He reminded me of our controlling interest in British Petroleum and also asked that the Companies should be induced to resume shipments of Iranian oil.

6. In reply I told the Ambassador that the Oil Companies had taken their decision without consulting Her Majesty's Government. I had not heard of this decision until after it had been conveyed to the Israeli Government. The Companies had no justification at all for saying that Her Majesty's Government would not back them, if indeed they had ever made this statement. The Israeli Government could not in justice claim that we were trying to appease the Arabs at the expense of Israel. Our attitude on rights of navigation in the Gulf of Aqaba and passage through the Suez Canal should surely have made it clear that this was not true.

7. The Companies' action had been dictated by their commercial interests and this seemed to be borne out by the fact that they had not consulted us. Their operation in Israel did not appear to be rewarding commercially, while they were anxious concerning the fate of their economic interests in the Arab States. We had spoken to the Companies a number of times concerning the supply of oil to Israel and had told them that we wished them to fulfil Israel's needs, but we would leave the source of those supplies to their commercial judgment. Our understanding was that the Companies had decided to cease supplying Iranian oil because of the outcry caused in the Arab States by the first call of the *Kern Hill* at Eilat.

8. In conclusion I told the Ambassador that I would consider further what action, if any, could be taken. We did not wish to see Israel throttled.

9. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassadors at Amman, Bagdad, Beirut, Tehran, Tripoli and Washington, Her Majesty's Political Resident in the Persian Gulf and Her Majesty's Political Agent at Kuwait.

I am, &c.

SELWYN LLOYD.

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VR 1533/21

No. 10

**CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND
DIRECTORS OF BRITISH PETROLEUM AND SHELL PETROLEUM
ON JULY 24, 1957**

Mr. Selwyn Lloyd to Sir Francis Rundall (Tel Aviv)

(No. 128. Confidential)
Sir,

*Foreign Office,
July 29, 1957.*

I invited the Hon. Maurice Bridgeman and Mr. F. J. Stephens, Directors of British Petroleum and Shell Petroleum respectively, to call on me on the 24th of July to discuss their Companies' decision to close down their jointly-owned marketing company in Israel.

2. I gave them a brief account of the representations made to me on this subject by the Israeli Ambassador on the 15th of July. I also mentioned that Mr. Aneurin Bevan had discussed the matter with me and that unless it was handled carefully there was a danger of political trouble here. It was most desirable to avoid this, in the Israeli interest no less than our own. I also pointed out that the short-term aspect of the oil Companies' decision seemed far less important than the long-term issue of how far we were to go in retreating before Arab pressure.

3. Mr. Stephens informed me that Shell had decided to close down the marketing company primarily for commercial reasons and that they had not consulted the Foreign Office in advance; he also said that, although there had been Saudi pressure on the Company to close down their operations, which were very small, in Saudi Arabia, this had not weighed much with Shell when taking their decision. Mr. Bridgeman said that, in view of the nature of his Company's participation in the marketing company, B.P. would be bound to follow Shell's decision. Unlike Shell, they had not been under pressure from the Arabs to pull out; they had, however, been "chiselled and squeezed" to such an extent by the Israelis in recent years that there was no incentive to remain on and they were in full agreement with Shell's decision.

4. Mr. Stephens informed me that Shell hoped to close down the marketing company within six months. They had given the Israelis an undertaking to carry on until the end of the year and in the meantime were looking for "some Zionist organisation" which might take over the company. If one could not be found, the Israelis might themselves take it over.

5. In answer to my enquiry Mr. Bridgeman confirmed that no decision had yet been taken regarding the closure of the Haifa refinery. B.P.'s intention was to wait until the marketing company's position had been settled and then to give the Israeli Government a year's notice in accordance with the terms of B.P.'s convention with the former Palestine Government. Under its terms B.P. had no right to assign the refinery to anyone else; it was up to the Israelis to find a third party to take it over or else to pay B.P. compensation if, instead of removing it, they left the refinery in Israel.

6. I informed Messrs. Bridgeman and Stephens that Her Majesty's Government regretted the decision of the oil Companies to pull out of Israel. I recognised, however, that it was not the policy of Her Majesty's Government to seek to interfere with B.P.'s or other oil Companies' commercial decisions. We did not, however, wish to see Israel starved of oil and I hoped the Companies would bear this in mind. Both Messrs. Bridgeman and Stephens assured me that there was no question of Israel being short of oil at present; adequate supplies were being obtained from Iran, largely through the National Iranian Oil Company (who were shipping their supplies through Swiss brokers) and also from an American independent oil company, Standard (Ohio). The Shell offer to supply crude from Venezuela remained open but the Israelis were not interested as the price was considerably higher than for Middle Eastern oil. Mr. Stephens suggested that once the Shell flag had been pulled down in Israel it would be easier for his Company to ship oil (although he did not specifically say so, the implication was that he meant Iranian oil). Mr. Bridgeman said that his Company on the other

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hand were in a somewhat different position owing to their 40 per cent. share in the Consortium and their past history in Iran, and they would not wish to take risks by shipping Iranian oil; all B.P. could do to help Israel if she ran short of crude would be to buy Venezuelan oil for resale.

7. I told my visitors that Sir Harold Caccia had discussed this problem with Mr. Dillon of the State Department and gave them the gist of Washington telegram No. 1461 of the 22nd of July from which it was clear that there was no prospect of being able at present to persuade the Americans to join with us in standing up to the Arabs.

8. In conclusion, Messrs. Bridgeman and Stephens undertook to keep me fully informed of developments and the former promised to supply figures which showed that the refinery at Haifa was running at a loss.

9. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassadors at Amman, Bagdad, Beirut, Tripoli and Washington, Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Tehran, Her Majesty's Political Resident in the Persian Gulf and Her Majesty's Political Agent at Kuwait.

I am, &c.

SELWYN LLOYD.

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No. 11

SIR FRANCIS RUNDALL'S FIRST IMPRESSIONS OF ISRAEL

Sir Francis Rundall to Mr. Selwyn Lloyd. (Received August 6)(No. 82. Confidential)
Sir,*Tel Aviv,
August 1, 1957.*

I have waited a full three months before reporting to you my first impressions of this country, partly out of natural prudence and partly, to distort further the metaphor used by my predecessor in his valedictory despatch No. 18 of the 5th of February last, because my own schizophrenia is in its early, or manic-depressive stage. The observations I now have the honour to submit, which are by definition superficial, may already, I fear, be coloured with the same mixture of admiration and exasperation that Sir John Nicholls has described. Objectivity is more essential and harder to achieve in Israel than in most other countries.

2. There is probably more happening in Israel per square mile than in any other country of comparable size. Some of it is admirable, and this every inhabitant is determined that one shall see without any delay. But the old people's home, lavishly equipped by American Zionists, must be balanced with the indescribable transit camps in which the new immigrants are housed, and it takes a little while for a newcomer to appreciate the fundamental economic and political problems underlying the apparent prosperity. The first impact is predominantly one of people—quick, intelligent and in the main friendly—who are pathetically eager that one shall see, understand and above all approve of what their country is doing. A bewildering mixture of people—Chinese, Indian and North African Jews; mediaeval orthodox Jews from the Yemen; stout ex-Germans in the khaki shorts bequeathed them by the Mandate and the undervest of the Brooklyn sidewalks; the dedicated and overworked officials and their messianic leaders in Jerusalem and the smart international set in Tel Aviv. People who at first sight seem to have only two things in common: a passionate interest in foreign affairs—but only in so far as they affect Israel—and the ability to produce a large number of apparently homogeneous and Hebrew-speaking children.

3. One learns after a little to judge current events in their local context—they make

little sense otherwise. Israel, less than ten years a State, is still a crusade. To the doctrinaire Russian Socialists who have run the country since its beginnings, the economically possible or internationally prudent policy has no appeal if it conflicts with the fundamental tenets upon which the State was founded. This is the Jewish homeland, to which all Jews may—and indeed ought to—return; this is the political kingdom promised to their forefathers and prayed for through the centuries. Israel therefore has basic rights which must be accorded by other States and peoples, so one need be little concerned with Israel's responsibilities in return. To borrow again from my predecessor, there is only the Israeli point of view or the wrong one.

4. One must understand this to understand what appears to be the incredible insensitivity of the Israelis to the probable effect abroad of their actions and their passionate indignation when predictable effect follows cause. We in the Western world will always find it difficult to help them, because the blunders that to the outside world wreck the good case they have built up are to them merely logical developments as judged by their peculiar terms of reference.

5. I am told by people of long experience in Israel that the country has never been so calm. Judging from the tone of the Press this is a relative term, but, if it is so, it is, I think, compounded of three main ingredients. The first is the confidence engendered by the Sinai campaign. Israel is convinced that, at least for some time to come, it can defeat any Arab combination likely to march against it. Indeed, as the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces said to me, their only military preoccupation is whether the United States will take care of any Communist "volunteers" who may appear on the Arab side. The second ingredient is the economic pressure of the current immigration programme. The 100,000 immigrants expected this year from North Africa, Egypt, Poland and Russia, who must be housed, fed and somehow integrated as productive members into the country's

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economy, would be an impossible commitment were it not for the massive financial support of American Jewry and will in any event strain the resources of the State to the utmost. The realisation of this fact is the third imperative for calm. The aftermath of Sinai showed that in the ultimate analysis Israel is wholly dependent upon the goodwill of the United States. The Zionist programme is financed with American money; the high standard of living depends on it, and were it to be cut off Israel would find it almost impossible to survive.

6. One is assured on all sides that Israel wants only peace with her neighbours. The Prime Minister has announced that the country's immediate tasks are to absorb the present wave of immigration, to settle and develop the Negev, to build up the Red Sea port of Eilat and through it to promote increased trade with the countries of Asia and Africa. These cannot be tackled unless Israel is at peace. I think we are justified in assuming therefore that Mr. Ben-Gurion and his Government will do all they can to keep things calm at present. They remained remarkably unruffled during the recent upheaval in Jordan, taking the official line that they did not care what happened there so long as a Government remained in being which could be held responsible for abiding by the Armistice terms. Their reactions to the outbreaks of violence on the Gaza border during the month of May were mild by local standards, and though they are undoubtedly worried by the build-up of Russian arms in Syria they have chosen to enlist United Nations Truce Supervisory Organisation support to control outbreaks on the Syrian border instead of resorting to their usual retaliatory methods. There is of course a limit of tolerance beyond which the Prime Minister could not go for domestic political reasons. His decision to withdraw from Gaza and Sharm-el-Sheik was extremely unpopular in the country as a whole and his Right-wing opponents are quick to accuse him of weakness at any opportunity.

7. It would be wishful thinking to conclude that Israel has given up any idea of using force as an instrument of policy, but it is reasonable to assume that such a course has little immediate attraction. There are, moreover, net gains to consolidate. The Red Sea route to the East is open, the Arab countries are quarrelling among themselves and Egypt is virtually

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isolated. In the short term therefore time and the *status quo* are on Israel's side, and she could only lose by any action which restored Nasser's prestige with his neighbours or risked forfeiting the sympathy of the outside world. One can speculate therefore that early action to establish Israel's claim to free transit of the Suez Canal is unlikely or will be most cautiously undertaken. The refugee problem is being tackled with similar caution; unofficial negotiations are undoubtedly going on but the Government are not prepared to take any public initiative. Trouble, if it is coming, seems more likely to start because of pressures on the Arab side.

8. This period of calm provides a good opportunity to examine the present state of Anglo-Israeli relations. I regret to report that in my estimate these have deteriorated appreciably since our short-lived popularity last autumn. From Mr. Ben-Gurion downwards we are considered to be engaged in appeasement of the Arabs at Israel's expense in order to restore our waning influence in the Middle East. This, in Israeli eyes, is a fatal error, because Israel has proved that appeasement of the Arabs merely makes them more demanding and intransigent. We shall therefore, in their view, inevitably continue to lose influence in this area and may well damage vital Israeli interests in the process.

9. This view shows itself in an extreme sensitivity to the smallest happening which can be construed as supporting evidence. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, for example, were quick to protest when they learnt that an official leave scheme had been started for troops in Cyprus to go to Beirut but not to Israel. The popular picture is that of a friendly Israel battering at a closed British door, although a distinction sometimes is drawn between the British Parliament and public, which are considered basically friendly, and the Foreign Office which is not. As the Prime Minister said to me: "My Ambassador in London? He is no more use to me than my Ambassador in Moscow!"

10. This attitude must, I fear, be accepted as an inevitable by-product of the overriding requirements of our Middle East policy. It can only be countered with patient explanation. In their calmer moments the Israelis are realists and, as one can remind them, also put their own interests first. But it is perhaps worth examining the possible consequences of our policy even

while accepting its inevitability. For example, we are undoubtedly risking the loss of a long-term market in Israel because of our caution in granting credits and our widely-advertised susceptibility to the Arab boycott. Within its own peculiar terms of reference this is an expanding market. The Germans have established a secure place in it through their reparations agreement; the United States and France stimulate demand for their goods by loans and credits. Much of this is bound to be at our long-term expense.

11. More serious, however, is the risk that we are losing the power to influence Israel in times of tension. It can of course be argued that the decline in our influence has been more than balanced by the growth of American power, but the United States and ourselves may not necessarily be in agreement about every question in the future. It can also be argued that these are short-term difficulties and that the day will come when we can afford to support Israel on the merits of her case. But I suggest that it is important to ensure that we do not let our influence here sink to an unnecessarily low level. With all its contradictions, economic problems and vast budgetary deficit, Israel is undoubtedly the most democratic country in the Middle East, probably the most stable politically and in the foreseeable future the most firmly anti-Communist, despite the Left-wing ideology of its leaders and its desire not to offend the Soviet Union because of the Jews still in Russia. I would agree with my predecessor's estimate that Israel will prosper if given a period of peace and if a real effort is made to make its economy independently viable. It is also likely to remain Western in its way of life, as the Government is extremely alive to the perils of Levantisation. One can even speculate that the time could come when we should wish to be in far closer collaboration with Israel—say, if the Eisenhower doctrine failed and the Arab world generally fell under Communist influence.

12. If the above is accepted, the immediate problem is how to maintain our influence without causing repercussions in the Arab world. If our broad policy, for obvious

reasons, cannot be favourable to Israel's interests, we should perhaps realise her extreme sensitivity to this fact and avoid whenever possible in dealing with her the pin-pricks—unimportant in themselves but infuriating locally—which would not be resented by a more mature nation nor by one less suspicious of us and of our motives. It would help a great deal if we could be more forthcoming in our credit policy towards Israel. We could perhaps initiate consultation with the Israel Government on small things; we could extend with great advantage our cultural and British Council work here and we can—and do—draw large dividends from a favourable word of support for Israel's case in Parliament or in the United Nations. Fundamentally our relations with Israel are better than they look, but we tend to help them in ways not immediately apparent to the Press or the public. Some action now and then which cannot be explained away by our local critics as being motivated entirely by self-interest would do a remarkable amount for us.

13. Furthermore, we should remember that time is not necessarily on our side. We are still enjoying the fundamental respect and admiration for British methods and institutions which we established during the days of the Mandate. But these memories fade with time, and we shall have to deal in due course with the "sabras," the new generation born in Israel of tough and uninhibited nationalists, who look as if they may combine the aggressive importunity of their parents with a still more complete indifference to outside opinion or advice. Unless guided during the next twenty years Israel could become the Germany of the Middle East.

14. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassadors at Washington, Paris, Amman, Bagdad and Beirut, to Her Majesty's Consul-General in Jerusalem, to the Political Officer, Middle East Forces, and to the United Kingdom Delegation to the United Nations, New York.

I have, &c.

F. B. A. RUNDALL.

VR 1052/23

No. 12

CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND ISRAEL
AMBASSADOR ON SEPTEMBER 11, 1957

Mr. Selwyn Lloyd to Sir Francis Rundall (Tel Aviv)

(No. 158. Secret)
Sir,

*Foreign Office,
September 11, 1957.*

The Israel Ambassador called on me to-day at his request. He explained that he had nothing specific to ask of me, but would be interested in our views on the Middle East as a whole.

2. Emphasising that I was only thinking aloud, I told him that we felt grave anxiety about the situation in Syria, where it seemed that Communists or near-Communists were in control of the army. We did not find the explanation which had been put to me in Yugoslavia—that this was nothing more than Syrian nationalism—acceptable. However we felt strongly that action by Israel would unite the Arab world. The same applied to Turkey. Lebanon and Jordan were weak, and Iraq seemed to lack determination. I did not expect overt action to be taken against Syria.

3. Nevertheless, we did not feel that containment was the whole answer. It seemed likely that 99 per cent. of the Syrian people were against the régime and it would be well to give them a chance to express themselves. But I re-emphasised my hope that Israel would not intervene, even if Egypt and Syria tried to engineer an incident involving Israel.

4. Mr. Elath thanked me for these comments. He told me that the Israel Government were determined to avoid traps set for them by Syria or Egypt, and had done their best to avoid showing public interest or anxiety. But they were extremely anxious about the threat to Jordan. They agreed with our assessment of the internal situation in Syria, and they feared that if we did nothing a new but more dangerous Albania would be established there. They were not contemplating aggression, but they were sceptical of the possibilities of containment, which in their view would only lead to a deterioration of the situation. Mr. Elath emphasised that in the present difficult situation close co-operation between the United States and the United Kingdom was essential.

5. I referred to the fact that in many ways King Saud was the outstanding piece on the chess board. But he seemed to be still undecided and to be hoping for a change in Syria without intervention from outside. I went on to say that we were constantly urged to reach some agreement with the Russians about the Middle East. That, in our view, was impossible at present.

6. I asked Mr. Elath to convey my best wishes to the Israel Prime Minister and to assure him that in the present difficult situation we would deal frankly with him. Mr. Elath thanked me for this assurance and added his thanks for our concessions on arms spares. Emphasising that he was speaking personally, he expressed the wish that we might also now release the outstanding items (three Meteor Night Fighters and Bofors naval guns) and so put an end to an Israel obsession about arms. I promised to look into this point.

7. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassadors in Washington and Paris, and to the Political Representative with the Middle East Forces.

I am, &c.

SELWYN LLOYD.

VR 1015/18

No. 13

PRESIDENT BEN-ZVI'S INAUGURAL SPEECH ON HIS SECOND TERM OF OFFICE

Sir Francis Rundall to Mr. Selwyn Lloyd. (Received November 11)

(No. 116. Confidential)

Tel Aviv,

Sir,

November 4, 1957.

With reference to my telegram No. 602 of October 19 I have the honour to report that on October 30 I attended the inauguration of President Itzhak Ben-Zvi as President of the State of Israel for a second five-year term. The ceremony, which took place in the Knesset building in Jerusalem, was similar to that reported by Sir Francis Evans in his despatch No. 341 of December 12, 1952, although owing to the bomb outrage of the previous day—upon which I am reporting separately—the Prime Minister, the Foreign Minister, the Minister of Transport and the Minister of Religious Affairs were absent because of injuries. It was somewhat marred by the condition of the Speaker, who seemed near collapse after his ordeal of the previous evening. He had to be prompted to open the session and failed to make his announced speech of congratulation.

2. After taking the oath of office administered by the Speaker Mr. Ben-Zvi spoke briefly. A translation of his address is enclosed.⁽¹⁾ Having dealt suitably with the bomb outrage, the President expressed his gratification that his election had been almost unanimous and explained that he had tried, during his first term of office, to represent the entire nation of Israel including its non-Jewish minorities. He referred briefly to the Sinai campaign, paying tribute to the Israel defence forces and claiming that the campaign's success could be seen in Israel's increased international prestige and the subsequent realisation by the bulk of world opinion that her motives had been justified. Reporting on the arrival of 200,000 immigrants during his term of office, he expressed the hope that they would still continue to be able to come without hindrance from all parts of the world, including Eastern Europe. Pointing to the difficulties that still lay ahead, both international and economic, he pledged his faith in Israel's future and added that during the next five years Jerusalem should be rebuilt, materially and spiritually, as is fitting for the capital of Israel. The ceremony was attended by the full Diplomatic Corps with the Soviet Ambassador as acting Doyen.

3. In contrast to the manoeuvrings which went on in 1952 and which were described in the then Ambassador's despatch under reference, Mr. Ben-Zvi received the vote of the entire Knesset with the exception of the Herut, Communist and Agudat Yisrael parties, who abstained. The nomination for re-election had been offered him some days before, in accordance with the constitutional practice by a delegation from the Knesset representing the eight parties of the Government coalition and two parties—the General Zionists and Poalei Agudat Yisraeli—of the opposition, representing in all 96 out of the 120 seats in the Knesset. Herut, the party of the extreme Right, produced the only rival candidate, Professor Joseph Rivlin of the Hebrew University. The party had earlier offered to support President Ben-Zvi as well, but only if he would resign his membership in the Mapai Party or if he would undertake to work for a "constitutional amendment" making such resignation mandatory on every future President. Mr. Ben-Zvi, who has been a member of Mapai for many years, refused these conditions and in the event Professor Rivlin withdrew his candidacy before the election.

4. There is no doubt that Mr. Ben-Zvi has and indeed deserves the support of nearly all his countrymen. He has succeeded in keeping himself above party controversy—although it is extremely doubtful whether Mr. Ben-Gurion would ever allow him to meddle in politics—and he has added considerable dignity to his office. He is a figurehead, but that is what his country needs him to be. It is to be hoped that he will survive for the five years of his new term; he is already in his seventies and gives me the impression of being a little frailer each time I see him.

5. I am copying this despatch to Her Majesty's Representatives at Washington, Baghdad, Amman and Beirut, to Her Majesty's Consul-General at Jerusalem and to the Head of the Political Office, Middle East.

I have, &c.

F. B. A. RUNDALL.

⁽¹⁾ Not printed.

SECRET

VR 1022/14

No. 14

TRENDS IN ISRAEL'S FOREIGN POLICY

Sir Francis Rundall to Mr. Selwyn Lloyd. (Received November 11)

(No. 119. Confidential)

Tel Aviv,

Sir,

November 4, 1957

I have the honour to report that during the last two weeks there has been a review in the Press and Parliament of Israel's foreign policy, with particular reference to the country's position as the result of Great Power rivalry in the Middle East. Whilst discussion of foreign affairs is never absent from the front pages of local newspapers, this more objective review has been stimulated by the opening debates of the General Assembly and the reopening of the Knesset after its summer recess. It reflects also the prevailing sense that, whilst Israel is not immediately involved in the current crisis, the long-term implications of the increased supply of arms to her Arab neighbours must inevitably work to her detriment, as must also the manifest success of recent Soviet policy in the Middle East compared to what is seen here as the total failure of United States policy.

2. Israel's attitude to world affairs was defined in familiar terms by Mrs. Meir, the Foreign Minister, in her speech to the General Assembly on the 7th of October last. The superficial reasonableness of Israel's attitude towards the Arab States and the effect of her plea that the Middle East needed water, not bombs, was heightened by the intransigence of the Arab contributions to the same debate. There was, however, little new in her speech, which indeed has been made many times before in the Assembly, except her references to the danger of increased Arab armament. As presented on such occasions, Israel's case is speciously simple. Israel wants peace with her neighbours, but cannot achieve it because the Arabs remain implacably hostile and refuse to negotiate with her. The chances of any settlement in the Middle East have now been further complicated by the extension of Great Power rivalry to the area, the outcome of which Israel is powerless to influence. Were this to cease, and particularly if the Western Powers were to stop appeasing the Arabs and to force them to negotiate direct with Israel, all problems could be solved. Israel is quite prepared to contribute towards a

settlement but cannot be expected to sacrifice her vital interests.

3. It is a current article of faith that the main obstacle to the resolution of Middle East tension is Great Power rivalry rather than the Arab-Israel dispute. This fact was brought out by the Prime Minister, Mr. Ben-Gurion, in his foreign policy speech to the new Knesset session on the 21st of October, upon which my Chancery has reported separately. In the general debate which followed it, and in the Press, discussion has centred around the policy that Israel should follow in the circumstances. Her basic danger is seen to be that she is considered expendable by both sides. The Soviet Union has achieved great success by courting the Arabs and will therefore continue to do so; the Western Powers will seek to appease them at Israel's expense. However matters develop, Israel is likely to suffer. Any relaxation of the present tension between Turkey and Syria will divert the Arabs, with Russian encouragement, towards further provocations against Israel. Even if the Great Powers come to some agreement about the Middle East, it is bound to be at Israel's expense. What therefore must Israel do?

4. Two broad schools of thought seem to be developing. The Left-wing parties in the Government Coalition, Mapam and Ahdut Haavoda, advocate a policy of strict neutrality. Israel should press for an agreement between the Soviet Union and the West in this area which would provide for the suspension of the current arms race and a guarantee, agreed by both sides, of Israel's present frontiers and those of the neighbouring Arab States. With this achieved, there should be renewed pressure upon the Arab States to persuade them to negotiate a settlement direct with Israel. None of this can, however, be achieved unless Israel is neutral between East and West. She should never have accepted the Eisenhower Doctrine, which has brought her no benefits and only increased Russian hostility towards her.

5. This point of view has recently been championed by Mr. Nahum Goldmann, President of the World Jewish Congress,

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who told a meeting of the Progressive Party that it was a mistake for Israel to rely on the United States. In his view, Israel must remain neutral and must try to improve her relations with the Soviet Union. There would eventually be a Great Power settlement in this area; whilst this was a desirable development Israel would suffer from it unless she had previously showed herself to be a genuine neutral. There was furthermore some prospect that an improvement in Israel-Soviet relations might raise the barrier on Jewish emigration from Russia. As I have already reported to Levant Department, my Soviet colleague has been developing this thesis in private conversations with Left-wing leaders and it is interesting that Mr. Goldmann had several interviews with Mr. Abramov during his stay in Israel.

6. In contrast, the Prime Minister seems to be advocating a policy of non-involvement, but without loosening Israel's ties with the West. The doctrine is that neither Great Power rivalries nor the internal régimes of Israel's neighbours are any of her business, but, since the unwavering Arab hatred of Israel does not lessen, the increased flow of arms provided by both East and West must increase Israel's danger. As defined by Mr. Ben-Gurion, the situation must give rise to concern although it is no cause for unnecessary panic. The country must therefore remain strong and lose no opportunity of increasing her ties with friendly countries in Europe, Africa and Asia. If one can judge from the foreign policy debate in the Knesset, this would seem to be the majority view. Mr. Goldmann's thesis was countered by speakers both from the Mapai Party and from the Right-wing Opposition parties outside the Coalition with the argument that the tension between the Soviet Union and Israel was entirely of Russia's making. There was no possibility of this changing except as the result of a complete change in her Middle East policy by the USSR, so that it was folly to ask Israel to cut herself off from the free world. Mr. Ben-Gurion is reported to have dismissed the Goldmann plan with the contemptuous remark that Israel did not need advice on foreign policy from someone who did not even dwell in the country.

7. There is nevertheless ample evidence that, whilst Israel fears Soviet policy, she is equally distrustful of United States and even more so of British intentions towards her. There was widespread speculation in the

Press that Mr. Macmillan was carrying to Washington a new set of proposals for an Arab-Israel settlement at Israel's expense. Editorial reaction was sharp and immediate. Sir Anthony Eden's Guildhall speech was recalled; the extreme Right-wing paper of the Herut Party announced a return to "Bevinism," and all shades of opinion reaffirmed the country's implacable opposition to any cession of Israel territory or wholesale repatriation of Arab refugees. This outburst died down after the communiqué at the end of the Washington talks had been issued and one or two papers even denied that such a plan had been discussed. It is thought that the United States and ourselves have decided that the time was not ripe for such a settlement and that instead an Anglo-American working party has been set up to examine the situation. Suspicions are lulled, but by no means removed. The Israel Government made no contribution to the short campaign, but it is significant that Mrs. Meir, in her foreign policy speech to the Knesset, emphasised that no settlement affecting Israel could possibly be reached without Israel's participation and consent.

8. The balance of evidence seems to indicate therefore that Israel will try and stay in the middle of the road and avoid being identified with either side in the East-West dispute. The proponents of a genuine ideological neutrality have probably not increased significantly, but since the Government considers itself powerless to influence the attitude of Russia towards Israel it does not propose to try. However, no opportunity will be lost to line up support for Israel in Europe and elsewhere. The Press has reported that France, Israel's friend, will insist upon having her views on any Middle East settlement considered by the other Great Powers; there was approving comment upon the attitude taken by Italy during Mrs. Meir's recent conversations in Rome. Even the decision of the Strasbourg Conference that there should be direct negotiation between Israel and the Arab States has been hailed as a further step in the integration of Israel in Europe. The forthcoming NATO meeting in Paris has aroused speculation about the possibility of a NATO guarantee of Israel's integrity.

9. There is evidence also that the concern felt in Government circles about Arab armaments and the spread of Soviet influence in the area has recently become much deeper than public announcements

indicate. I understand from my United States colleague that Mrs. Meir did not press very strongly for an American security guarantee for Israel during her visit to Washington, but the Prime Minister reverted to the subject again in a recent conversation with him and indicated that Mr. Eban would probably raise it in his current conversations with Mr. Dulles. Such a guarantee, if made public and particularly if accompanied by increased economic aid, would quiet Israel's fears; without it the tendency towards neutralism may well increase. There are, nevertheless, no signs that Israel would pay any price for such a

guarantee. My Australian colleague told me that he raised this question with Mrs. Meir during a recent interview and found her completely intransigent.

10. I am copying this despatch to Her Majesty's Representatives at Washington, Baghdad, Amman and Beirut, to Her Majesty's Consul-General at Jerusalem, to the United Kingdom Delegations in New York and Paris and to the Political Office, Middle East.

I have, &c.

F. B. A. RUNDALL.

VR 1423/5

No. 15

COMPLETION OF HULEH DRAINAGE SCHEME

Sir Francis Rundall to Mr. Selwyn Lloyd. (Received November 11)

(No. 120. Confidential)

Tel Aviv,

Sir,

November 4, 1957.

My Chancery has reported at intervals the progress made with the land reclamation project at Lake Huleh. Following my telegram No. 610 of November 1 I have the honour to report that this project reached its final stage with the breaching on October 31 of the temporary dam across the south end of the lake which had prevented the water from the remainder of the lake, and the dredged channels under it, draining off down the Jordan.

2. You will recall that the project, which has cost £1.8 million, had three main aims: first to reclaim some 15,000 acres of swamp which were covered by the lake itself; second, as a flood control measure, to divert the large and wasteful tributaries of the Jordan north of Lake Huleh into two main channels, one to the west and one to the east of the finger of Israel territory extending up to Dan and Metulla; and third to provide a new source of water for irrigation. The scheme which was initiated and organised by the Jewish National Fund came under a Huleh Development Authority in 1956 in which the Government has a direct holding of 50 per cent.

3. The 15,000 acres once covered by the lake will now become rich agricultural land whose peat soil is particularly suitable for the large-scale production of cotton, sugar cane, sorghum, rice and other cereals. Rich experimental harvests have already been reaped. Israeli national pride is also flattered by the development of a small two-way traffic in bulbs with growers in Holland. In addition, some 1,000 acres of the lake and marsh have been set aside as a nature reserve to preserve the flora and fauna of the region. The drainage of the finger-like area to the north has also led to the reclamation of considerable areas of swamp, has lessened the dangers and wastefulness of winter floods and has finally removed the threat of malaria which thrived there only a generation ago.

4. Not many months after work on this project began in late 1950 serious objection to it was raised by Syria and the matter was dealt with by Security Council Resolution (Document S/2157) of May 18, 1951. The cause of the trouble, and the fighting which ensued at Tel el Muntilla, was the need to work on Arab-owned land in order to widen and deepen the Jordan in the demilitarised zone at the outlet from Lake Huleh so that it could contain the winter floods. The original plan was therefore deflected to avoid interference with Arab owned land and the Chief of Staff of the U.N.T.S.O. allowed work to proceed. (Interim Report of the Security Council S/2300 of August 17, 1951.) Hence the first stage of the project was completed.

5. The second stage, begun in mid-1953, was the dredging of the major channels to hold the waters of the Banyas, Dan and Hasbani rivers which had previously wandered through a maze of wasteful channels in an intractable marsh-land north of the lake. The final stage was the further deepening of the Jordan at the lake exit, the removal of a temporary dam and the consequent drainage of the remainder of the lake through which the Jordan waters now pass in artificial channels. It remains to be seen whether the temporary spate of water down the Jordan will give rise to protest in Damascus and Amman. Fortunately, the final drainage of the lake necessitated far less blasting of the natural basalt obstruction there than had been expected and the operation has been completed without further protest from Syria.

6. Although on an international scale the Huleh scheme is of no great moment, it does represent the successful completion of the first of Israel's larger development projects and one close to the heart of the Israelis. Press and public have joined in welcoming the fruits of long patience, determination and technical skill.

7. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Representatives at Amman, Beirut, United Kingdom Delegation New York, Washington, and to the Political Officer, Middle East Forces.

I have, &c.

F. B. A. RUNDALL.

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VR 1822/5

No. 16

ISRAEL'S ARAB MINORITY

Sir Francis Rundall to Mr. Selwyn Lloyd. (Received December 9)

(No. 127. Confidential)

Tel Aviv,

Sir,

December 2, 1957.

I have the honour to enclose a memorandum⁽¹⁾ prepared by my Third Secretary, Mr. Ronald Higgins, on Israel's Arab minority.

2. As Mr. Higgins brings out, the problem of Arab-Israeli relations within the State of Israel is completely bound up with the equally insoluble problem of Israel's relations with her Arab neighbours. There are some 215,000 Arabs in Israel of a total population of just under 2 million. Their numbers, about 13 per cent. of the whole, and their situation in the Galilee and in the narrow waist of the country, must inevitably make them appear to be a potential security risk to the Jewish majority. This is so in spite of the fact that the Arabs stick to their own land and, except for a marginal danger from the Communists amongst them, give the Israel authorities no trouble. There is nevertheless little possibility that the Jews will trust them until the State is genuinely at peace with the surrounding Arab countries.

3. Whilst on paper the Israeli Arabs have equal legal and political rights with the Jews, both are limited in practice by the fact that the majority of Arabs in the northern half of Israel live under military government and are subject to special security regulations which affect their right of free movement and their opportunities of employment. This discrimination, and the confiscation of much Arab land on unfavourable terms in 1953, remain their major remediable grievances. More serious and so far insoluble is the affront to Arab pride at being subject to an alien majority who have dispossessed them, whose aspirations they cannot share and who consider them to be at best unwelcome and unreliable second-class citizens. These feelings are aggravated by a constant stream of propaganda from neighbouring Arab countries. Worst of all perhaps is that the Israeli Arab who succeeds in crossing the border often ends up in gaol on suspicion of being a spy for Israel.

4. It is therefore not remarkable that Jewish apprehensions and contempt are met with passive hostility on the part of the Arabs. Confronted by these problems, the authorities' primary course has been to produce by economic and social means a kind of contented indifference in place of the present concealed hatred. There is no question that the majority of the Arabs in Israel are now materially far better off than they have ever been before. Agricultural production has risen by leaps and bounds and standards of health and education show continuous and marked improvement. These changes have not been brought about by the Government in a spirit of pure altruism; it is rightly held to be important for security, electoral and economic reasons that the Arabs should be, so far as is possible, contented and productive. The small but active Communist Party in Israel has made itself the champion of Arab grievances and enjoys in return appreciable Arab support. Should this increase, it might prejudice the chances of Mapai, the ruling party in the present coalition, in the elections next year.

5. But as Mr. Higgins brings out, the task before the Government would be an extremely difficult one even without the political problems which beset it. The Arab outlook and way of life are so completely different from those of the Jews that even with the utmost goodwill on both sides the integration of the minority into full citizenship would be a lengthy process. Apart from the ending of military government—which has been under heavy fire in the Knesset and the Press for some time—and reasonable recompense for their expropriated lands, the primary needs are for the greater sympathy and respect on the Jewish and on the Arab, some conception of what the Israelis are trying to make of their homeland. There have been hopeful signs that the Israel Government will follow a more imaginative policy in the future and in particular that they will increase the level of Arab education, but it is too early to estimate how far this will go. The picture could change for the worse almost overnight were the tension on the borders to increase. To the Israelis, security always comes first.

⁽¹⁾ Not printed.

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6. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Representatives in Washington, Paris, Amman, Beirut and Baghdad, to the United Kingdom Delegation in New York, to Her Majesty's Consul-General in Jerusalem and to the Political Office, Middle East Forces.

I have, &c.

F. B. A. RUNDALL.

VR 1012/134

No. 17

**CONVERSATION BETWEEN HER MAJESTY'S AMBASSADOR AND
Mrs. MEIR ON DECEMBER 18, 1957**

Israel Suspicions of Britain's Attitude

Sir Francis Rundall to Mr. Selwyn Lloyd. (Received December 18)

(No. 691. Confidential)
(Telegraphic)

Tel Aviv,
December 18, 1957.

Your telegram No. 1016 not to all addresses.

I had a brisk hour-and-a-half with the Foreign Minister and Deputy Director-General to-day. I began by asking if she could tell me what lay behind the current anti-British campaign in the Israel Press, describing it as reported in my telegram No. 686. I found it hard to understand why the Israel Government had let it continue without giving some guidance to the Press, particularly in view of the fact that their Ambassador in London must have reported the categorical assurance you gave him that there was no such "plan".

2. Mrs. Meir said that no such assurance had been communicated to her. Her Ambassador had reported that when pressed for details of British policy towards Israel, you had been evasive but that Sir Frederick Hoyer Millar had said clearly that it was based on the Guildhall Plan for cession of Israel territory to the Arabs. In any event, the Israel Government were not responsible for what was printed in the newspapers. I replied that they seemed to have received extremely one-sided guidance about your interview with the Israel Ambassador, which I was sure had not come from British source, and that I had noted that the Israel Government Press Office had recently chosen for leading item in its hand-out, a reference to "statement" made by you during the meeting, that the time had come to activate the Guildhall policy.

3. Mrs. Meir then developed the twin themes that the Guildhall speech meant that we expected Israel to make significant cession of her territory to the Arabs and that Mr. Ormsby-Gore's reply to a supplementary question in the House on November 27, added to Nuri's visits to London and Washington, was evidence that Her Majesty's Government were reviving this policy. There was clearly an organised effort to make the 1947 resolution the basis of Western policy in the Middle East. This resolution was dead and could not be revived. We argued on familiar line as to what the Guildhall speech meant—Mrs. Meir even sent for the text. Comay interposed that there continued to be serious misgivings about British policy in the Israel Foreign Office. Israel had never succeeded in getting an unequivocal assurance from us that the Guildhall speech did not mean what they thought. If Her Majesty's Government could make it quite clear that the Guildhall Plan did not involve any cession of Israel territory, our relations would vastly improve.

4. I said that the Guildhall speech did not prejudice the issue in any way, but merely stated that there must be a compromise between the two widely separate positions if an agreed solution were to be found. You had explained this only recently to the Israel Ambassador, and had made the further point that we envisaged an overall solution involving far more than territorial adjustments. Suggesting that there seemed to be some divergence between the reports I had received from you and those of Mr. Elath, I recapitulated in detail the points made in your telegram under reference and on Sir Frederick Hoyer Millar's interview in paragraph 4 of your telegram No. 1979 Saving to United Kingdom Delegation, Paris. I invited the Foreign Minister to consider our position and that of the other Western Powers in the light of Russian infiltration in the Middle East and to realise that it was quite unrealistic, even if such were British policy, to expect us to announce that any Middle East settlement must be based on the 1949 armistice lines. For good measure I rehearsed Anglo-Israel relations over the last six months comparing the concessions we had made to Israel over credits and spare parts with the Shell campaign, the difficulties that a number of British firms were having in operating in Israel, and the two bursts of Guildhallitis. She might hold the view that the 1947

resolution was dead, but this was the point from which the Arabs had said they were prepared to negotiate. Israel should accept our genuine efforts on her behalf and our expressed interest in a settlement agreeable to both sides instead of building up an imaginary Press campaign on one sentence in a supplementary question. The issues at stake were too important for all of us.

5. Comay again intervened to ask whether the British Government agreed that now was not the time to try and promote an immediate solution to the Arab-Israel dispute. This was the American view, was it also ours? I said that I had no evidence that we thought the time propitious either, and quoted from Mr. Ormsby-Gore's speech [? group omitted] Parliament of November 8 last, but added that we disagreed with Israel in our belief that the Arab-Israel dispute enabled the Soviet Union to cause trouble in the Middle East.

6. The interview ended with Mrs. Meir in full cry about the iniquity of expecting the Mount Scopus garrison to turn out their lights at 10 p.m. in the interest of Middle East stability.

7. Please see my immediately following telegram.

3. Mrs. Meir said that no such statement had been communicated to her. Her Ambassador had reported that when pressed for details of British policy towards Israel, you had been evasive but that Sir Frederick Hoyer-Miller had said clearly that it was based on the Goldhamer Plan for cession of Israel territory to the Arabs. In any event, the Israeli Government were not responsible for what was printed in the newspapers and replied that they seemed to have received extremely one-sided guidance about your interview with the Israeli Ambassador, which I was sure had not come from British sources, and that I had noted that the Israeli Government Press Office had recently chosen for leading items in its hand-out a reference to "statements" made by you during the meeting that the time had come to examine the Goldhamer plan.

4. I said that the Goldhamer speech did not prejudice the issue in any way, but merely stated that there must be a compromise between the two widely separate positions. It was a general statement, and had made the further point that we envisaged an overall solution involving far more than territorial adjustments. Suggesting that there seemed to be some divergence between the reports I had received from you and those of Mr. Elath, I requested in detail the points made in your telegram under reference, and on Sir Frederick Hoyer-Miller's interview. I pointed out your statement No. 1279, dated 10 January 1949, in which you stated that the Foreign Minister to examine our position and that of the other Western Powers to the field of Russian influence in the Middle East and to realize that it was quite unrealistic even if such were British policy, to expect us to renounce that any Middle East settlement must be based on the 1949 situation. For good measure I repeated Anglo-Israeli relations over the last six months compared the concessions we had made to Israel over credits and spare parts with the still campaign the difficulties that a number of British firms were having in operating in Israel, and the points of Goldhamer.

VR 1821/1

No. 18

JEWISH IMMIGRATION INTO ISRAEL

Sir Francis Rundall to Mr. Selwyn Lloyd. (Received January 6)

(No. 138. Confidential) Tel Aviv,
Sir, December 30, 1957.

I have the honour to transmit herewith a memorandum by my Second Secretary, Mr. Ronald Higgins, on Jewish immigration into Israel. (1)

2. Even were the principle of free sanctuary in Israel not, as Mr. Higgins terms it, "a cardinal article of Israeli faith," the policy of the Israel Government towards immigration would still be of first importance in her foreign relations. For not only is Israel's attitude towards the States which still contain significant Jewish communities bound to be influenced by this fact, but the future character and, in short term at any rate, orientation of the State itself must to some extent flow from the background and national origins of its people. It follows that a policy of restricted or selective entry would be just as immediately reflected in Israel's international dealings as the present one of keeping the doors open to all who can and wish to pass through them. So I make no apology for treating at some length and in detail a subject which, so far as our records show, has never been fully analysed by this embassy before.

3. To anyone who has seen at first hand the materialism and the hard-headedness of modern Israel, the ideological background to the immigration problem described in the attached memorandum may seem over-idealised. It is not. Like almost everything else in this country, motives—whether self-seeking or altruistic, material or idealistic—are never simple. It must be remembered that to-day's policy-makers in Israel are still by and large the Jews of the early Aliyas, or their first generation descendants; that is, those to whom Israel was either the answer to centuries of Ghetto New Year toasts to "next year in Jerusalem," or the testing ground—made free to them, as they saw it, by the Balfour Declaration—for their Socialist political philosophy. The murder of a third of world Jewry by Hitler gave a tragic immediacy to the old longing for an "Ingathering" of the Exiles. No matter what materialistic egotism may have crept in since to cloud this image, and

there has been plenty, the vision of Jewish specialness—of the Chosen Race—is never far below the surface of Jewish thought. The men who guide the nation see in Israel a brave new Athens and scorn the criticism of those who patently view her as no more than another nasty little Sparta.

4. Quite apart from ideology however, Israel is pathologically conscious of being encircled by a hostile Arab world which outnumbers her by some 20 to 1. Even the self-confidence engendered by the Sinai campaign has not modified her conviction that she must double her numbers to survive—either in war or in the competitive economy of peace should the flow of conscience money from American Jewry dry up.

5. Although philosophers may quarrel for generations over the moral, if not the historical, right of the Jews to "return" to Palestine, their presence here is now an accomplished fact and the world has to come to terms with it. A few Jews have, of course, lived here since the destruction of the second Temple in A.D. 70. After the expulsion of the Sephardic Jews from Spain in the 15th century many more settled. In 1839 Her Majesty's first Consul at Jerusalem reported that there were about 10,000 Jews in Palestine—half of them in that city. The First Aliya, or wave of idealistic Zionists, arrived in the last two decades of the 19th century and set themselves up as small capitalist orange-growers, employing Arab labour. It was the Second Aliya, after the turn of the century, which brought the Russian and Polish Socialists who still form the head and backbone of the country. With their belief in the dignity of manual labour and their hatred of constituted authority—Church and State alike—they have set a messianic stamp on Israeli politics. The Jewish population fell during the First World War but rapidly rose after it with the Third Aliya of East European Jews, escaping from revolution and war and encouraged by the Balfour Declaration to settle in Palestine. The next influx, the Fourth Aliya, consisted largely of German refugees from Nazism. The Fifth Aliya, the

(1) Not printed.

last before the foundation of the State, came for the most part illegally, in defiance of the restrictions imposed by the White Paper of 1939.

6. The 1948 Declaration of Independence which marked the birth of Israel as a nation found her with a population of 650,000 Jews and 116,000 Arabs. Then came the "Ingathering." From Cyprus and the D.P. camps of Europe, from Iraq, Yemen and the Far East, the exiles returned, until by mid-1957 a round number of 890,000 Jews had come to join the great experiment in nation-building. They had little in common but the fact that they were Jews and their knowledge of persecution. Neither language nor tradition nor even a shared ideal bound them either to one another or the State. The problem of their absorption, of welding them into a people, was a task so gigantic that perhaps only the toughness bred of 2,000 years of oppression would have had the temerity to tackle it. It seems at first sight strange that responsibility for an enterprise fundamental to the survival of the fledgling State should have been left primarily to the Jewish Agency—a semi-official body financed from non-governmental sources. The explanation is perhaps partly that the Government has never had time to take it over and partly that the emotional approach which the Jewish Agency can use in raising Zionist funds and its high-pressure methods of recruiting new immigrants would have been quite inappropriate for a Government. But in practice the Government has kept a firm rein on policy.

7. With the continuing, though slower, stream of new arrivals and the pangs inseparable from the birth of a new country, it is not surprising that, as even the most ardent Zionist will admit, the population of Israel is still in many ways an incohesive, heterogeneous, and contradictory mass. Nor is it surprising that a proportion of the immigrants should have turned back in disillusion. The rigours and misery of the early transit camps have left their scar and the Jewish Agency still have on their hands some 100,000 citizens to be shifted from the ma'bara—many of them now too apathetic to want anything better than their present barely subsidised existence. For the last four years the policy has been to take immigrants straight from the ships in which they arrive to their permanent destinations; and this has worked better. It has at least evened out the spread of the population,

away from the coastal plain and into the new mixed development areas in Galilee, the Jerusalem corridor and the Negev desert, where industry and agriculture develop hand in hand. But sore hardship still prevails. The level of subsistence is miserably low, unemployment great and improvement discouragingly slow. About 80 per cent. of the newcomers now go direct to these settlements and they are undoubtedly better off than in the old transit camps. But my daughter, who stayed with some young English Zionists in one of the new towns last summer, returned nevertheless with moving accounts of their meagre life.

8. Even so, in nearly ten years only 85,000 Jews have turned back. Probably a proportion more would have done so were it not for the obstacles put in their way by authority: for the damaging moral effect both here and abroad of anything like an exodus is obvious. But although, apart from erecting some barriers to keep the numbers down, the Government is not seriously worried by the rate of the backflow, they are concerned about the proportion of them who are of European stock and who came to Palestine before the creation of the State. About 55 per cent. of the intake since 1948 have been Orientals, and although they still only form about two-fifths of the nation their inertia and indifference to Zionist aims contain the seeds of a threat to the young State. Israel is still in the melting pot and it is too soon yet to tell what brew will emerge. Her leaders are keenly alive to this and to the dangers that she may, instead of rising to take her place as a modern democracy and a leading Power in the Middle East, sink back to the status of a backward, depressed country of typical Levantine character and vacillating political orientation—another nasty little Sparta. So the unbeautiful term "Levantinisation" is often on Israeli lips. They fear that the political innocence and instability of the "oriental" immigrants may be fertile ground for the demagogy of the Herut (extreme Nationalist) Party, and they are consequently making every effort in the schools and during military service to educate the younger generation to mature citizenship and political responsibility so that they may become fully integrated with their European compatriots. This risk of "Levantinisation" can be and often is exaggerated, for the orientals are still only a substantial minority and so long as the

position can be held in the short term, education, a further intake from European sources and the normal process of growing up should take care of the more distant future.

9. The balance of her population in terms of national origin must, nevertheless, be of some continuing concern to Israel until the "Ingathering" is complete and the leavening spirit of time has had opportunity to do its work. Up to now the main problems have been economic and administrative: how physically to transport and finance the 890,000 immigrants who have been free to come—whose Governments were indeed often happy to see them leave. But the bulk of the former Jewish communities in Iraq, in Yemen, Libya, Egypt, Turkey, Algeria, Tunis, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and Poland have now been transferred and settled here, leaving only small pockets who would not radically affect the balance even were they later to follow suit. The States on which Israel's hopes for future mass immigration now rest are Morocco (280,000), Roumania (250,000), Hungary (80,000) and the 2½ millions from Russia. The calculation here is that, were all political holds unbarred, about half this remaining 3 million would want to come.

10. Hence Israel's future immigration problem is primarily a political one, and the key is held by the Soviet Union. Both domestically and internationally this hard fact is vividly reflected in Israel Government policy. Although barely anything could more swiftly produce chaos in Israel or lay her more surely open to attack than a sudden lifting of the Russian floodgates, this fact can never be admitted. The Government must always be seen to be on the side of the angels and can do nothing which could conceivably be deemed to put one day between one Jew behind the Curtain and his prospects of returning "home." Insults must be swallowed in silence, the most hopeful construction put upon any sign of Soviet relaxation and the basic identity of Israel's interests with the West in the cold war left largely unacknowledged. This is doubly so since so many of the present leaders are kith, if not actually kin, to the bulk of the remaining "exiles."

11. The Kremlin is clearly not unaware of this and must intend to exploit the situation to the maximum discomfiture of the free world. But, however the cards may be played, I am reasonably sure that Jewish hard-headedness will prevail over sentiment

should the test come. There have been signs in recent months of a more outspoken desire to reinsure with the West against further Soviet penetration in the Middle East. Israel would not, for instance, ever allow so great a proportion of her national resources to become tied down by the immigration programme that insufficient remained for full maintenance of her armed strength. Nor would she allow the country to be so flooded by new immigrants that she was no longer capable of self-defence in a crisis. She would probably try to mount a holding operation by diverting the refugees temporarily to somewhere like Austria, where they could be supported by the charity of the world until their absorption. But even so the thought of the Russian finger on the controls is a sobering one.

12. It does not at the moment look as though the Soviet Union intended to press the release button just yet. So even the most sanguine estimate of the Jewish Agency, based on their optimum hope of political change in Morocco, Roumania and Hungary, does not anticipate more than 600,000 immigrants in the next five to ten years. This, allowing for natural increase, would bring Israel within reasonable distance of the passionately desired 3 million mark, and up against the knotty problem of how best to dispose of her remaining absorptive capacity.

13. Arguments about the economic maximum of Israel's population are, as Mr. Higgins points out, notoriously treacherous. Estimates run from 3 million to 5 million. Probably the winning guess would lie somewhere between 3 million and 4 million. But the nub of the problem lies less in demographic statistics than in proper exploitation of naturally available water resources, a continuing flow of capital and successful scientific advance in such new techniques as the use of solar and atomic energy and desalinisation of sea water: mostly matters which hinge on political factors beyond the sole control of Israel.

14. Given the maximum water supply which, politics apart, could fairly be brought within her boundaries; given a continuing influx of capital; given success in her adventurous scientific experiments and given territorial security, there is, as things stand, no reason in the foreseeable future why Israel should need to expand beyond the present armistice lines. Indeed, her recent overtures for a NATO guarantee of

her present boundaries would seem strong evidence that she did not aspire to do so. The Prime Minister for one is convinced that the Negev desert in the south is capable of intensive settlement, and if he is right no problem of *lebensraum* should arise for many years. The temptation to expand is much more likely to be political. If water were to be indefinitely withheld, if border friction became intolerable or if Jordan were to fall under Communist domination, Israel might, rightly or wrongly, conceive that expansion was her only hope of survival. Admittedly both the most likely areas—the West Bank of the Jordan and the Gaza Strip—are so encumbered with Palestine Arabs that they might create more strain than they would relieve. But I doubt, if the pinch really came, that this would give any Israel Government pause. The Arabs would simply be pushed over the new frontiers.

15. If the above criteria for peaceful development are not fulfilled and if the rate of emigration from any quarter should be stepped up, the sensible answer should be to limit immigration for a time. But, as Mr. Higgins says, the basic policy is to "bring in the Jews and let God and the United Jewish Appeal do the rest." It would take great political courage to modify this policy and probably only the threat of punitive sanctions for failure or the promise of great reward would persuade any Government to do it.

16. Possibly scenting the danger that they might be pressed on the subject and in an attempt to justify their obstinacy over re-settling the Arab refugees, the Israelis have recently begun to develop a highly specious line of argument. Immigrant Jews from Communist countries are, they say, as truly "refugees" as any other people driven from their homes—no matter the cause. If, therefore, the West wants Israel to take back the Arabs, it should be prepared to give future homeless Jews a sanctuary. Does it not, therefore, the argument runs, make more sense for the Jews to come to Israel and the Arabs to be re-settled elsewhere? This debating thesis conveniently ignores both any moral right of the Arabs to return to their own soil and the hard fact that unless Israel makes some concession over the refugees an Arab/Israel settlement is chimeric and Israel's own survival perhaps left in doubt. Nevertheless Israel could make a reasonably good case for resisting proposals that she should re-settle more than, say, 200,000—even were more than that number to opt for it. Although it is now fashionable to say that Israel will only

take back a token 25,000 refugees—or none at all—it is possible that up to 100,000 would be accepted—if they still wanted to come—in return for an overall and guaranteed settlement. But it would take some hard bargaining and would certainly not be conceded at the outset of negotiations.

17. How far the continuance of Israel's present immigration policy is a firm bar to an Arab/Israel settlement, my colleagues in the Arab countries are better able to judge. A decision by Israel to limit, or even to stop immigration would presumably remove one of the main Arab pretexts for refusing to negotiate, but as I have shown above the first is unlikely and the second almost inconceivable. Furthermore, even supposing that the refugee problem could be settled and agreement reached on permanent boundaries—and there is an increasing determination here as time goes by never to give up an inch of the sacred soil of Israel without compensation elsewhere—one cannot see any lasting settlement unless Israel's frontiers were guaranteed against change from within or without by some firm treaty commitment involving the Great Powers. It is doubtful whether a United Nations guarantee would be enough, since both sides would regard it as too slow and too vacillating to lean upon. Nor do I think that a renewed Tripartite Declaration would suffice, since the commitment in it is neither explicit nor automatic. Obviously from Israel's point of view a NATO guarantee would be best, but she would probably rest content with any formula and any instrument which gave her automatic assurance of support against attack and did not stop short at a promise "to consult."

18. However, in the present political climate such speculation is more than usually unprofitable. The Middle East scene is changing so swiftly and the effects of Soviet penetration are so unpredictable that the familiar pieces of this jigsaw may have entirely altered before the puzzle comes to be put together.

19. I am sending copies of this despatch (with enclosure) to Her Majesty's Representatives in Washington, Paris, Moscow, Amman, Baghdad, Beirut, Ankara, Teheran, Bucharest, Budapest, Vienna, Rabat and Tunis, to the United Kingdom Delegation to the United Nations in New York and to Her Majesty's Consuls-General at Jerusalem, Haifa, Tetuan and Algiers.

I have, &c.

F. B. A. RUNDALL.

APPENDIX

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

VR 1012/1

No. 19

LEADING PERSONALITIES IN ISRAEL

Sir Francis Rundall to Mr. Selwyn Lloyd. (Received October 18)

(No. 106. Confidential) Tel Aviv,
Sir, October 14, 1957.

I have the honour to submit a report on the leading personalities of Israel for the year 1957-58.

I have, &c.

F. B. A. RUNDALL.

Enclosure

Glossary

AGUDAT ISRAEL.—World organisation of strictly orthodox Jews; founded in 1912; opposed Zionism for many years as running contrary to Jewish Messianic beliefs; since the establishment of the State it has co-operated with the Jewish Agency and the Government.

GENERAL ZIONIST PARTY.—Conservative middle class party in Israel, protagonists of private enterprise.

HAGANAH.—Haganah was the underground Jewish armed defence force controlled by the Jewish Agency during the Mandate. Became the regular army of Israel on the establishment of the State.

HAMASHBIR HAMERKAZI.—Histadrut Wholesale Co-operative Society.

HAMIZRAHI.—Orthodox Religious and Zionist Party, affiliated in the Knesset to Hapoel Hamizrahi. Less extreme in its religious views than Agudat Israel.

HAPOEL HAMIZRAHI.—Labour Party and Trade Union. United, in the Knesset with Hamizrahi. Except on religious issues its views do not diverge substantially from Mapai.

HASHOMER HATZAIR.—Extreme Left Socialist Zionist youth movement and political party. (See Mapam.)

HISTADRUT.—The General Federation of Jewish Labour in Israel.

HERUT.—Extreme Nationalist political party in Israel. (See I.Z.L.)

IHUD HA'KVUTZOT HA'KIBBUTZIM.—An organisation of pro-Mapai collective settlements.

IRGUN ZVAI LEUMI (I.Z.L.).—Underground terrorist group founded in 1937 to fight the Mandatory régime. (Dissolved since the creation of the State and formed the basis of a new party—Herut.)

JEWISH AGENCY.—Central Jewish body combining all Jews, Zionists and non-Zionists alike. Founded in 1929 and not concerned with education and Zionist activities abroad and with the absorption of immigrants into Israel.

KEREN KAYEMET (or Jewish National Fund).—Created in 1901 for buying land which is leased to settlements for 99 years. Now of semi-official status, it also participates in general agricultural policy and also specific projects like water companies, tree planting and land reclamation. It is expected soon to amalgamate with another similar organisation, Keren Hayesod, which is primarily concerned with land cultivation.

KIBBUTZ.—(plural, Kibbutzim: resident of, Kibbutznik). A communal agricultural settlement in which work is organised and property is owned collectively.

KIBBUTZ ARTZI (Country-wide Kibbutz).—Kibbutz Artzi is the organisation of kibbutzim belonging to the Hashomer Hatzair movement.

KNESSET.—Assembly—the Israel Parliament, which has only one Chamber. (M.K.—Member of the Knesset.)

LE'ACHDUT HA'AVODA (commonly abbreviated to ACHDUT AVODA).—An independent political party since 1954, when the members of two factions of Mapam, named Le'Achdut Avoda and Poalei Zion Smol, broke away to form the new grouping somewhat to the right of the reduced Mapam.

MAPAI.—Initials of "Mifleget Poalei Eretz Israel," the Labour Party; Israel's largest political party. (Moderate Socialist.)

MAPAM.—Initials of "Mifleget Poalim Me-uhedet." United Workers' Party, or the Left-wing Socialist Labour Party (Marxist but not Communist). It now consists of a single faction, Hashomer Hatzair.

MOSHAV (plural, Moshavim).—Many types, but basically a collective settlement of smallholders who live and farm separately but buy and sell collectively.

PALMACH.—The former crack striking force of the Haganah, which was largely formed of Left-wingers.

POALEI ZION.—The Jewish Socialist Movement abroad, of Mapai complexion.

SOLEL BONEH.—Solel Boneh is the Histadrut's building-contracting institution, the largest in Israel.

UNITED JEWISH APPEAL (U.J.A.).—The Central (but non-Government) instrument of fund raising in the United States founded jointly in 1939 by the various national and Zionist funds working there. Not to be confused with the Israel Bond Drive, which is an official organisation seeking not contributions but orthodox investment in the State.

VAAH LEUMI.—The General Council of the executive body of the elected Assembly which represented the Jewish communities in Palestine during the Mandate (now dissolved).

WORLD MACCABI UNION.—A General Zionist-sponsored Union representing Maccabi Sports Clubs throughout the world. It organises the

Maccabiah or International Jewish "Olympic" Games. "Maccabi" is Israel's oldest sports organisation.

WORLD ZIONIST ORGANISATION.—Founded by Dr. Herzl in 1897 as a world-wide, non-party organisation of Zionists to create a home for Jews in Palestine. With the founding of the State its importance has diminished though it remains the most important link between Israel and the diaspora.

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1. Agron, Gershon

Mayor of Jerusalem: Chairman of Board of Directors of the *Jerusalem Post*.

Born 1893 at Czernigov (Russia). Emigrated to the United States in 1916 and studied at Philadelphia University. Edited a Yiddish paper in 1917. Joined Jewish Legion in 1918 and on demobilisation settled

in Palestine. In 1920-21 and 1924-27 head of the Zionist Organisation Press Bureau. In the interval he was editor of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency in New York. Back in Palestine in 1924 he became correspondent for some English newspapers. In 1932 he founded *The Palestine Post* (now *Jerusalem Post*). He lost the financial control in 1948. In 1949 he became director of Israel Information Services, but resigned in February 1951, to return to the editorship of the *Jerusalem Post*. In 1951 his name was included in the list of Mapai candidates for the Knesset. In 1955 he headed the Mapai list in the Jerusalem municipal elections, and was subsequently elected Mayor.

Mr. Agron is Israel's leading English-language journalist, though of American rather than British outlook. He claims to be pro-British but is only really so on his own terms. In politics he tends towards the Left. Had diplomatic and political ambitions and is disappointed that they have not been realised, but has derived much satisfaction from his appointment to the Mayoralty of Jerusalem. He is reported to be much less active in the *Jerusalem Post* since taking office.

2. Almogi, Joseph

Mapai M.K.

Born in Poland in 1902. Has for some years been Secretary of the Local Labour Council, Haifa, and consistently acts more independently than the secretaries of other Local Labour Councils. He is a tough and able trade union leader. He was the 84th (unsuccessful) candidate in the Mapai list in the Parliamentary Elections of January 1949, but secured election to the Third Knesset at the 36th place on the Mapai list in the elections of July 1955. He has since been re-elected as Secretary of the Haifa Labour Council. He is an ambitious man and, whilst he has ability, he relies at least as much on his forceful personality as on his brains. He politically exploited the recent three months' strike at the important Ara Spinning Mills at Haifa.

3. Alon, Yigal

Achdut Avoda M.K.

Born in 1909 and a member of Kibbutz Ginosar (a Mapam settlement). Yigal Alon was the founder and first commander of the Palmach, the crack Israel striking force, largely composed of Mapam kibbutzniks, which distinguished itself in the Palestine War but was subsequently disbanded owing to its Left-wing ideals. Yigal Alon held the rank of Aloof (Brigadier) in the Palestine War and commanded the Israel forces in the Negev campaign, as a result of which the Egyptian Army was driven out of the Negev. He has claimed publicly that he could easily have occupied Gaza and Hebron in 1948, but was ordered not to do so by the Government. In 1949 he was retired from the army in the purge of Mapam commanders and he subsequently went to England to study and was very favourably impressed. He spent a long time in London studying economics and social questions. He is a leading member and Secretary-General of Le'Achdut Avoda, which broke away from Mapam in August 1934.

Mr. Alon is regarded by Israelis as a born leader of men and is looked on by young people as a national hero. He is generally considered a powerful rising force in the Israel political scene.

4. Amit, Aloof (Brigadier) Meir

Was born in Tiberias Palestine in 1921. He graduated from the Balfour Secondary School in Tel Aviv. He served in the Haganah from 1936 to 1948. In the War of Independence he took part in fighting in the Valley of Jezreel and in the Negev, and

headed the unit which entered Eilat. In 1950 he was given command of a brigade and in 1951 became head of Training Branch. In 1954 he attended a course at the Senior Officers' School, Devizes, where he was reported on as being "an astute officer who has considerable ability" and one who "does not appear to be either anti- or pro-British." On his return to Israel in February 1955 he was appointed Head of the General Staff Branch. In October 1955 he was appointed Commander of the newly resurrected Southern Command. In July 1956 he was once again appointed Head of the General Staff Branch.

5. Aranne, Zalman

Minister of Education and Culture.

Born at Yuzovka (Stalino) in South Russia in 1899. Attended the Agronomic Institute in Kharkov. Was a Zionist before the Russian Revolution and from 1920 was a member of the Central Committee of the underground Zionist Socialist Party. Came to Palestine in 1926. First a labourer, he later made a career in the secretariat of Jewish labour organisations, finally becoming a secretary of the Workers' Council of Tel Aviv. He was a delegate to the World Zionist Congresses of 1933 and 1935 and is a member of the Zionist Organisation's Action Committee.

In 1935-36 Mr. Aranne was in London studying trade union questions on behalf of the Histadrut. In the latter he has held the posts of Treasurer, Head of the Publicity Department and Director of the Workers' Training College. Originally associated with the Achdut Ha'avoda (Union of Labour) movement, Mr. Aranne followed it when in 1927-30 it amalgamated with other groups to form the Mapai Party, but he remained faithful to Mapai when the Left-wing of the movement again broke away in 1944. In 1948 he became Mapai's first Secretary-General and a M.K. in 1949. In the Knesset he became chairman of the Foreign Affairs and Security Committee, a position he held until February 1951, when he resigned to organise Mapai's election campaign. After the elections he resigned his post of Secretary-General of Mapai. Shortly after entering Mr. Sharett's Cabinet in 1954 he was nominated Minister responsible for information matters. In the coalition formed by Mr. Ben-Gurion after the 1955 elections, he was appointed Minister of Education and Culture.

Mr. Aranne, who is a forceful speaker plays a prominent and constructive part in Knesset debates. He is one of his party's leading political tacticians.

6. Argov, Meier

Mapai M.K. Born in the Ukraine in 1905. Came to Palestine 1925. Active in the Histadrut's trade union department, he became a member of the Histadrut executive, chairman of the Tel-Aviv labour exchange and chairman of the Union of Israel Labour Exchanges. In the Second World War he served with the Jewish Brigade. He sat as a representative of the Va'ad Leumi Executive on the Emergency Committee of 1947-48. Member of the Provisional Council of State in 1948, elected M.K. in 1949. He was also a member of the Zionist General Council. In February 1951 he succeeded Aranne (*q.v.*) as chairman of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Security Committee. From November 1951 until the spring of 1954 he was Secretary-General of Mapai. He asked to be relieved of this post on grounds of ill-health.

One of the truly activist people in Mapai, he remains Chairman of the Foreign Affairs and Security Committee of the Third Knesset to which he was re-elected in 1955. He is not, however, as significant, politically, as this position might imply. This summer he led a party of M.K.'s on a goodwill tour of South America.

7. Arnon, Abba S.

General Manager. Citrus Marketing and Control Boards.

Born Germany, 1895. Doctor of Science (Econ.). Came to Palestine in 1926. Manager of a citrus co-operative from 1928-32 and Director of Jaffa Orange Syndicate 1932-39. Manager of Export Institute 1940-47.

A competent if not particularly forceful man conscious of the importance of the British connection with Israel and generally very helpful.

8. Arnon, Ya'acov

Director-General of the Ministry of Finance. Born at Amsterdam in 1913 where he later obtained a Doctorate in Economics and specialised in problems of diamond manufacture. Having served as President of the Dutch Zionist Organisation he came to Israel in 1948 and quickly climbed in an expanding Ministry of Finance. His present appointment was welcomed by the Ministry's staff as it was the first time that a new Director-General had been chosen from their ranks.

Playing as he does a prominent part in oil negotiations, aircraft purchases and in other matters beyond his immediate departmental interests, and working extremely long hours, he is open to the criticism of handling too much himself. He is, however, generally acknowledged to be one of the most capable Heads of Ministries in the present Administration.

9. Avidar, Aloof (Brigadier) Josef

Ambassador to Soviet Union.

Born in Russia in 1906. Took part in the organisation of Haganah and served with Wingate's night squads from 1936-37, losing an arm in operations. He was a senior staff officer from 1948 onwards and has commanded the Northern and Central Areas. He led an army delegation to Yugoslavia in 1952. In 1953 he attended a course in the United Kingdom (Senior Officers' School), where he was reported on as "a widely read and trained professional soldier of considerably ability," although this is perhaps a rather flattering description by Western standards. On his return to Israel he was appointed head of the General Staff. In 1954 he accepted, somewhat reluctantly, the post of Ambassador to Moscow.

10. Avner, Gershon

Head of American Division of Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Born in Berlin in 1919. Studied at Oxford and became president of the Union, subsequently serving in London with the Jewish Agency's Political Department. On coming to Israel he became head of the Western European Division of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In March 1952 he took part in the negotiations for reparations from Western Germany as political adviser to the Israel delegation. Subsequently he was appointed Counsellor and Chargé d'Affaires in Hungary and Bulgaria and was until recently Counsellor at the Israel Embassy in London.

Mr. Avner is highly intelligent and a smooth diplomat. His wife is a naturalised British subject.

11. Avriel, Ehud

Ambassador to Ghana and Liberia.

Born in Vienna in 1918. Mr. Avriel came to Palestine just before the Second World War and joined a kibbutz. In 1943 he went to Istanbul on behalf of the Jewish Agency and took part in the rescue of Jews from Germany, co-operating also with Allied intelligence organisations. From 1945 to

1948 he was in Czechoslovakia and in 1948 he was appointed first Israel Minister to Czechoslovakia and Hungary. In June 1950 he was transferred to Bucharest. He accompanied the Prime Minister on his private journey to Athens and London in December 1950, and in April 1951 was appointed Director-General of the Prime Minister's Office. In November 1951 he was appointed to supervise the administration of United States grants-in-aid funds. In June 1952 he was appointed Director-General of the Ministry of Finance in succession to Horowitz (q.v.), continuing to be responsible for grant-in-aid matters. He resigned from this post in 1953 and retired to a Kibbutz settlement. In 1955 he was elected to the Knesset as a Mapai member. Agreeable and co-operative, Mr. Avriel had the reputation of being a competent official, but was not thought to be of the same calibre as Mr. Horowitz. He was, however, one of Mr. Ben-Gurion's chosen lieutenants. He resigned from the Knesset on receiving his present appointment this summer.

12. Bader, Dr. Yochanan

Herut M.K.

Born in 1901 at Cracow. Studied law at Cracow University and was a leader of the Revisionists in Galicia. Came to Palestine in 1943, worked as a journalist and economist and was also active in the Irgun Zvai Leumi. Associated with the Revisionist paper *Hamashkif* and became editor of *Herut* on joining that party in 1948. Elected M.K., 1949, and was chairman of the Herut-Revisionist World Executive, 1949-51. Re-elected 1951 and 1955. He is a member of the Herut Executive Committee.

Dr. Bader is the leading Herut expert on economics. He is a poor speaker but a clear thinker who commands a more attentive hearing than most members of his party.

13. Barkatt, Reuven

Director of the Political Department of the Histadrut.

Born in Russia in 1906. Educated at Strasbourg and the Sorbonne.

Mr. Barkatt is a leading member of the Histadrut Executive Bureau of nine, and is head of the International Department, the Arab Department and the Cultural Department of the Histadrut. He is also a member of the Central Committee of Mapai. He led the Histadrut delegation to the United Kingdom in 1950 and travels extensively to international Socialist conferences. He revisited England in 1952 and again as leader of the Israeli delegation to the Congress of the Socialist International in July 1955. He represents Mapai at the meetings of the Asian Socialist Congress and has visited Indonesia, India and Burma. He is now one of the three-man editorial board which controls the Asian Publishing House set up in Rangoon in 1955 following the decision taken by the Asian Socialist Conference at its Tokyo meeting in November 1954.

Speaks English, French, Hebrew, Russian and German. He is shy and reserved at first but talks interestingly when his reserve is broken down, although he is always devious and loves to talk in riddles. He has, however, a sense of humour, is friendly and is, in all, a strong personality.

14. Bartur, Moshe

Director of Economic Division of Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Born at Moseiska in 1919. Came to Palestine from Germany and until 1948 lived in a kibbutz, of which he is still a member. He has travelled extensively on economic delegations and in 1952 accompanied Mr. Horowitz to London. Since 1953 he has been responsible for the negotiation of trade

agreements between Israel and various European countries. He has a good brain and tries to be helpful although at times he lets emotion interfere with his judgment.

15. Bar-Yehuda, Israel

Minister of Interior.

Born 1895 in Poland. Trained as engineer. Came to Palestine in 1926 and joined kibbutz Yagur, near Haifa. Was one of the founders of Achdut Avoda. He became a member of the Va'ad Leumi and was a delegate to Zionist congresses. Elected to the Knesset on the Mapam list in 1949, he became Mapam whip and soon made his mark as a parliamentarian. Re-elected in 1951 and 1955 and appointed a Deputy Speaker in the Third Knesset. Became Minister of the Interior in the coalition formed by Mr. Ben-Gurion in November 1955. He is a member of the Zionist General Council.

As a member of Mapam, he opposed the extreme pro-Soviet policy of the Hashomer Hatzair majority and stressed at meetings of the Mapam Council, of which he was a member, the Soviet Union's opposition to Zionism and its refusal to allow Russian Jews to emigrate to Israel and has strongly opposed undue subservience to the Communist bloc. He is now one of the leaders of Achdut Avoda.

16. Barzilai, Israel

Minister of Health. Mapam M.K.

Born in Poland in 1913 and educated there, the son of a timber merchant. Joined Hashomer Hatzair and later studied at the Sorbonne. Settled in Palestine in 1934, joining a Hashomer Hatzair kibbutz at Karkur, which subsequently merged with Kibbutz Negba. Was active in Hashomer Hatzair political work and in Histadrut activities and was a founder member of the Israel-Poland Friendship League. In April 1946, he visited Poland as an Israel unofficial representative and in August 1949, was appointed Minister at Warsaw, the only member of Mapam to be given a diplomatic post abroad. His staff were also members of Mapam. He held this post until the end of 1950, when he returned to Kibbutz Negba. In April 1953 he was elected political secretary of Mapam in place of Riftin (q.v.). He appears to be an orthodox Mapam member who, while holding extreme Left views, is a convinced Zionist.

17. Becker, Aharon

Trade union official.

Born in Poland in 1905. Came to Palestine in the 'twenties and has been for over twenty years a trade union official. He is now head of the trade union department of the Histadrut (General Confederation of Jewish Labour), a post which he has held since June 1949. A member of the Histadrut Executive. In 1950 he led a trade union delegation to Yugoslavia and from 1943-48 he was a director of Hamashbir Hamerkazi and head of its industrial department. In 1951 he visited the United Kingdom to study trade union and labour affairs and also to improve his English. He also visited the United States, France and Canada on trade union affairs. A trade union member of the Economic Advisory Council. In 1955 he was elected to the Knesset on the Mapai list, but resigned in 1957. Leads the Israeli workers' delegation to I.L.O. Conferences and is currently a deputy member of the Workers Group in the Governing Body.

Mr. Becker is an influential trade union leader and a possible successor to Mr. Lavon as Secretary-General of the Histadrut. He is friendly and well-disposed and a powerful opponent of Mapam. Though an able man, his health is not good, and like many Israel leaders, he consistently overworks.

18. Beigin, Menahem

Leader of Herut Party.

Born 1913 at Brest-Litovsk. Studied law at Warsaw University. At an early age joined the Revisionist Youth Movement, Betar. Appointed head of Betar in Czechoslovakia in 1936 and was head of its Polish section in 1939. After Soviet occupation of East Poland he was arrested and sent to Siberian concentration camps. Released under the Stalin-Sikorsky agreement, he joined the Polish Army with which he came to Palestine in 1942. He later left it and joined the anti-British underground movement, becoming leader of the terrorist "National Military Organisation" (Irgun Zvai Leumi). He emerged in public after May 1948, when he announced the transformation of the Irgun into a political party, the "Freedom Movement" (Herut), under his leadership. In September 1948, he succeeded in incorporating the majority of the Revisionist Party into it. Elected M.K. 1949 and re-elected in 1951 and 1955. Re-elected chairman of the party in April 1954. Herut's gains in the elections of 1955 owed much to his skilful and unscrupulous demagoguery.

Mr. Beigin is a lean sinister-looking intellectual with vulture-like features and rimless glasses. His undoubted oratorical talent and keen intelligence are warped by bitter extremism. Hatred of the British is still one of his main preoccupations although anti-Communism is steadily taking its place.

19. Bejarano, Moshe

Industrialist.

Born at Plovdiv, Bulgaria, in 1902. Educated in Switzerland and Italy. With his brothers he established a leading cigarette business in Bulgaria and on coming to Palestine he co-operated with them in the foundation of the "Assis" fruit-juice, citrus product and cigarette factory at Ramat Gan. From 1948-49 he was Commercial Counsellor to the Israel Legation in Moscow. He frequently represents Israel at commercial conferences abroad. In 1954 he went on a Government-sponsored mission to India and the Far East, to explore possibilities of increasing Israel's exports. He is currently President of the Anglo-Israel Chamber of Commerce.

Mr. Bejarano is a Sephardic Jew and he and his brothers talk Ladino among themselves. He, himself, is highly intelligent and sophisticated and speaks a number of languages. He and his wife are much seen socially in Tel Aviv.

20. Ben-Aharon, Yitzhak

Achdut Avoda M.K.

Born in Bukovina in 1906. Studied economics and law in Berlin. Came to Palestine in 1928 and joined kibbutz Givat Haim. Was a delegate to Zionist Congresses and became a member of the Zionist Actions Committee and of the Histadrut Council. During the Second World War he served in the British Army as a captain in the Royal Engineers; prisoner of war 1941-45. He became Secretary-General of Mapam and was elected to the Knesset in 1949 and 1951. Member of the Central Committee of Mapam until, in 1954, he left the party with other members of the Achdut Avoda faction, of which he has for some time been a leading member. Elected Achdut Avoda M.K. in 1955. He is well disposed and speaks good English, but in public advocates a "neutralist" foreign policy identified neither with Russia nor with the West. A serious and likeable personability.

21. Ben Gurion, Amos

Deputy Inspector-General of Police (1950).

Born in London in 1920, the son of David Ben-Gurion (q.v.). Educated at Herzlia Gymnasium, Tel Aviv, and the Kadoorie Agricultural School, Mount Tabor. Joined the British Army in 1940 and served

with the Jewish Brigade in the Italian, Belgian and Dutch campaigns, being demobilised in 1946 with the rank of major. Was Liaison Officer of Haganah with the British Army from 1947-48 and conducted the negotiations with the British authorities about the status of Jaffa in May 1948. During the Palestine War he commanded an infantry regiment and saw action near Tel Aviv and at Latrun. During the first cease-fire in June 1948 he acted as a liaison officer. Later in the year he joined the Israel Police Force, in which he has since served as Superintendent and later Deputy Inspector-General.

Although he recently won his libel action against an unofficial public morals committee he has not entirely cleared his name from their allegations that he has profited financially from his appointment.

Mr. Ben Gurion lacks his father's physical drive and mental capacity and has of late been showing signs of going to seed. His English Gentile wife comes from the Isle of Man.

22. Ben-Gurion, David

Prime Minister and Minister of Defence.

Born at Plonsk in Poland in 1886 of an orthodox Jewish family, he received a traditional religious education, which he managed to supplement. Early in life he became interested in the Jewish Socialist movement (Poale Zion). His activities as a revolutionary orator during the pogroms of 1905 led to his being blacklisted by the Russian Government, and in 1906 he emigrated to Palestine. He worked as an agricultural labourer at Petah Tikva and later at the wine cellars at Rishon-le-Zion. He continued his Socialist activity and persuaded the local Socialists to turn from Yiddish to Hebrew. In 1913 he spent a year studying law at Constantinople. In 1915 he was expelled from Palestine to Egypt, still being a Russian subject, and made his way to the United States. Here he helped to prepare pioneer settlers for Palestine and American Jewish units for the British army. He became a private in the Royal Fusiliers and returned to Palestine with General Allenby's army.

After the war he took part in the formation of the Achdut Avoda (United Labour) Party (1919) and in the same year was elected to the Zionist Executive. He played a leading part in the creation of the Histadrut and remained its general secretary until 1933. In 1930, when Achdut Avoda and Hapoel Hatzair merged to form Mapai, he emerged as the unquestioned leader of the party. From then on he became an increasingly important figure in the Zionist movement. In 1935 he joined the Executive of the World Zionist Organisation and became chairman of the Jewish Agency executive in Jerusalem and the effective leader of Palestine Jewry. He was bitterly opposed to the White Paper of 1939, and events favoured his line rather than the restraint advocated by Dr. Weizmann, then the outstanding figure in the Zionist movement. The Second World War delayed the crisis. Mr. Ben-Gurion threw himself wholeheartedly into the war effort and the recruitment of Jews, though later his motives were probably more political than otherwise. In 1942, while Weizmann hesitated, he sponsored the Biltmore programme, which called for the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth and army and unrestricted immigration. In 1946 he was interned for eight months for connivance at terrorism. In 1947, after the United Nations partition resolution, he was elected chairman of the National Council and put in charge of security and defence. When the Mandate ended he was already the appointed leader of a shadow Government. He took over the Defence portfolio and his personal energy and initiative were an important factor in Israel's victory over the Arabs. The war was under his personal direction, and he emerged

from it a national hero. After it he quickly and ruthlessly suppressed the private army of the Irgun Zvai Leumi and purged the army of Mapam leaders, destroying the separate identity of the Palmach and making the army his own loyal instrument.

In the 1949 elections Mapai emerged the strongest party and Ben-Gurion formed a coalition Government. He subsequently made periodical efforts to broaden his Government but without success. Disagreements with the religious parties became ever more acute and finally brought about the defeat of the Government in 1951. After the 1951 elections he formed a new coalition not very different from the old, in which he continued as Prime Minister and Minister of Defence. He spent May 1951 touring the United States, primarily to raise funds. In December 1952 he formed a new coalition Government with the General Zionists, again becoming Prime Minister and Minister of Defence.

In December 1953 he announced his intention of resigning from the offices of Prime Minister and Minister of Defence and withdrew, with his wife, to the remote and isolated settlement of Sde Boker, in the Negev, some 30 km. south of Beersheba. His professed motive for retiring from public life was to be relieved from the physical and mental strains imposed upon him as Prime Minister, in order to devote a period of time to thought and study, to write, and to rekindle the pioneering spirit in Israel. In 1955 he returned to the Government as Minister of Defence in succession to Mr. Lavon whose resignation, following differences of opinion with Mr. Sharett over defence policy, threatened to split Mapai. He led the party in the elections to the Third Knesset and after prolonged inter-party discussions succeeded in forming a coalition in November 1955. His clear pre-eminence was heightened by the success of the Sinai campaign, despite the unpopularity of the withdrawal from Sinai and the Gaza Strip.

Mr. Ben-Gurion is a man of great energy and self-confidence who does not easily brook opposition. He is brusque and impulsive and enjoys defying conventions; emotional and with a streak of Messianic fervour; a forthright and determined leader with a direct and fundamentally honest approach. He is a voracious reader, with a predilection for Plato, and speaks several languages, including English. His wife, formerly a nurse, comes from New York.

23. Bentov, Mordechai

Minister of Development.

Born in 1900 at Grodzisk near Warsaw. Attended the Politechnion and University of Warsaw and Law Classes, Jerusalem. Came to Palestine in 1920. A founder of the Hashomer Hatsair movement. Delegate to various Zionist congresses and member of the Zionist Executive (1935). Member of the Agricultural Committee (1938). Delegate to the Round Table Conference, London, (1939). Member of the Histadrut Executive Committee (1942). Member of the Provisional Council of State and Minister of Labour and Reconstruction in the Provisional Government (1948). Was elected to the Knesset in 1949 and 1951. Became, in 1951, chairman of the Knesset Economic Committee. In December 1952 he led the Israel delegation to the Vienna "peace conference." He was re-elected to the Knesset in 1955 and became Minister of Development in the coalition formed by Mr. Ben-Gurion in November of that year.

Mr. Bentov is essentially a man of Hashomer Hatsair. He is a member and resident of Mishmar Ha'emek, one of its leading communal settlements, where his wife runs the school, which has considerable local renown. For years he has been a member

of the editorial board of *Al Hamishmar*, organ of the movement. He is a man of considerable erudition and speaks six languages including English, and has made a study of Arab-Jewish relations. Fellow journalists say that he will always be found on the side of the majority in Mapam.

24. Ben-Zvi, Yitzhak, M.B.E.

President of Israel (1952).

Born 1884 at Poltava. Studied at Kiev University and was an active promoter of Socialist Zionism in Russia, Germany and Switzerland. Settled in Palestine in 1907. Studied law at Istanbul University (1913-14), was expelled from Palestine (1915), went to the United States, worked on preparing pioneers for Palestine, helped to recruit the Jewish Legion and served in it (1918-20). One of the founders of the Va'ad Leumi (General Council of the Jewish Community); from 1920 onwards member of its Presidium and its president from 1931 to 1948. Twice appointed to the High Commissioner's Council, but resigned; in both cases on the immigration issue. In 1937 he represented the Jewish community in Palestine at the coronation of King George VI. Has been delegate at Zionist Congresses and a member of the Zionist General Council. A founder of the Histadrut and of Mapai. Member of the Provisional Council of State (1948) and of the Knesset (1949). Re-elected 1951.

In November 1952 he was nominated by Mapai as their candidate for the Presidency and a month later he was elected to that office on the third ballot.

Mr. Ben-Zvi is a simple and modest man who is universally liked and respected, and he has shown dignity, moderation and sense in his new office, which is largely symbolic. He is quite unaffected, and lived for years in a small wooden hut in Jerusalem. Before being elected President he took little part in active politics, but was looked upon as the "grand old man" of Mapai. He is a leading orientalist and the author of several books and many articles, and an authority on the Samaritan community. One of his two sons was killed in the Palestine War.

25. Bernstein, Dr. Perets

General Zionist M.K.

Born in 1890 at Meiningen (Germany). Studied at Meiningen University and Eisenach. Was in business in Germany and Holland, 1907-35. On the Executive of the Zionist Organisation of Holland from 1924 and its president in 1930-34. Came to Palestine in 1936, and founded the General Zionist paper, *Haboker*. In 1937 he entered the Executive of the General Zionist Party. President of the party since 1943; unanimously re-elected in November 1949. He entered the Executive Committee of the Jewish Agency in 1946 and in 1947 became head of its trade and industry department. In 1948 he became member of the Provisional Council of State and entered the Provisional Government as Minister of Trade, Industry and Supply, with responsibility for war-time controls. Elected M.K., 1949, he declined to serve in the Government. Re-elected 1951. In November 1952, he was the General Zionist candidate for the presidency. A month later, when the General Zionists joined Mr. Ben-Gurion's Coalition Government, he became Minister of Trade and Industry. He held the same post in the coalition formed by Mr. Sharett in January 1954, but relinquished it in 1955 when the General Zionist Party withdrew from the coalition.

At the end of 1955 he was converted to activism. That he is now losing influence was demonstrated at the 1957 General Zionist Conference when he was kicked upstairs to become the powerless President of the party.

26. Burg, Dr. Shlomo Joseph

Minister of Posts.

Born in Germany in 1909 and educated at the universities of Berlin and Leipzig (Ph.D.). He also undertook Jewish religious studies in Berlin and received a rabbinical diploma. Becoming a member of the religious pioneering movement, he joined the Palestine Office in Berlin and was active in Germany on behalf of Youth Aliyah. He came to Palestine in 1939 and entering the teaching profession in Tel Aviv. He is a leading member of Hapoel Hamizrahi-Hamizrahi. Elected to the Knesset in 1949 on the religious *bloc* list, he became Deputy Speaker. He favoured the inclusion of his party within the Histadrut and emerged as one of the leaders of the "Lamifne" faction. Re-elected in 1951, he was appointed Minister of Health in Mr. Ben-Gurion's reconstituted Coalition Government. When the General Zionists were included in the coalition in December 1952 he was given the Ministry of Posts, which he retained in Mr. Sharett's coalition formed in January 1954 and in Mr. Ben-Gurion's coalition of November 1955.

27. Carmel, Moshe

Minister of Transport.

Born in Poland in 1911. Educated at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem and the University of Paris. Settled in Palestine in 1924. He became an officer in the Haganah in 1941 and commanded units in the Haifa district during the closing years of the Mandate. He was detained by the Mandatory Government for a period in Acre prison. He served in the Israel Defence Forces and became Military Commander of the Northern District. He is a member of the Agricultural Council of the Histadrut. His political allegiance is to Achdut Avoda, but he is not an M.K.

28. Chazan, Yaakov Arich

Mapam M.K.

Born in 1899 in Brest-Litovsk and educated in Poland. One of the founders of the Hashomer Hatzair movement in Poland and of its world organisation. Came to Palestine in 1923 and helped to found the kibbutz at Mishmar Ha'emek, where he still resides. Is on the Secretariat of the Hashomer Hatzair Federation (kibbutz Artzi). Member of the Zionist General Council and delegate to Zionist Congresses since 1928. Member of the Histadrut Executive Committee. Member of the Board of Directors of the Jewish National Fund. M.K., 1949. Re-elected 1951 and 1955.

Mr. Chazan is one of the most active Mapam leaders and a pro-Soviet extremist though he remains a Zionist. He is given to immoderate statements and in a speech early in 1949 described Soviet Russia as his "second homeland."

29. Cohen, Haim

Attorney-General (1950).

Born in 1911 at Lübeck (Germany). Studied at Universities of Munich, Hamburg and Frankfurt. Came to Palestine in 1933 and studied at the Hebrew University and Rabbinical College, Jerusalem. In private legal practice 1937-48. In 1948 he became secretary of the Jewish Agency's Legal Council and was engaged in legal work in preparation for independence. In June 1948, he entered the civil service as State Attorney and Director of the Department of Prosecution in the Ministry of Justice; he later became Director-General of the Ministry as well. Appointed Attorney-General, February 1950, and Minister of Justice,

June 1952, continuing to hold the office of Attorney-General as well. In December 1952 he had to give up the Ministry of Justice and his seat in the Cabinet to make way for the Progressive and General Zionist members, but he remains Attorney-General.

Mr. Cohen is a non-party man and is not a member of the Knesset.

30. Comay, Michael Saul

Assistant Director of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Born in 1908 at Capetown. Educated in South Africa (B.A., LL.B.) and practised at the South African bar till 1940. Served with South African Forces, 1940-46, in the Western Desert and in Britain, in Military Intelligence (Captain) and Army Education (Major); twice mentioned in despatches. After the war he came to Palestine as special representative of the South African Zionist Federation and entered the service of the Jewish Agency Political Department. Was attached to the Jewish delegation to the United Nations, 1947-48. He became Director of the British Commonwealth Division when the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was first established and in May 1952 Assistant Director-General in the Ministry, being responsible for the British Commonwealth, American and Western European Divisions. He served as Israel's first Minister (later Ambassador) to Canada from 1953 to 1957 when he changed places with Mr. Lourie (q.v.). His present duties involve the supervision of the British Commonwealth, United States and West European Divisions of the Ministry.

We have found that Mr. Comay can be tricky in his official dealings. Intelligent and able, he talks well and is outwardly friendly, but is a difficult and moody man who never relaxes. He is suspicious and critical of the United Kingdom, and is hypersensitive to criticism of Israel's policies. Formerly almost hostile, the prejudices of his wife (a vain woman) and himself have somewhat abated.

31. Dan, Hillel

Managing director, Solel Boneh.

Born in 1900 at Vilna. Veteran Commander of the Haganah. Has held a series of increasingly important administrative posts in the Histadrut and is now a member of its Executive. He helped to relaunch Solel Boneh after its 1922 bankruptcy and make it a success, and since 1935 he has been responsible for policy in all Histadrut industrial enterprises. He is a director of the Israel Mining Company, a Government concern formed to exploit minerals in the Negev, and a member of the Economic Advisory Council, as well as a director of the German Reparations Purchasing Company.

Mr. Dan is a dictatorial character, who inspires respect but also fear in his subordinates. Said to be ruthless but a man of his word. Hates paper work but has a remarkable memory for salient facts and figures. Speaks no English. His health continues poor.

32. Dayan, Rav-Aloof (General) Moshe

Chief of Staff.

Born 1916 Degania (Galilee). Brought up at the co-operative settlement of Nahalal. His father, Shmuel Dayan, is a Mapai M.K., and his brother was killed in the Palestine War. Early associated with the Haganah and was a volunteer in Wingate's "night squads." Sentenced to ten years' imprisonment in 1939 for illegally engaging in secret military training, he was released in 1941 to join a scout unit formed to assist the British Army in Syria against the Vichy French. He lost his left eye in the fighting and now wears an eyeshield. In 1948-49 he

commanded a Palmach Brigade and later was Military Commander of the Jerusalem area. He then headed the military section of the Israel mission at the armistice negotiations in Rhodes. On his return, was appointed chief Israel delegate to the four Mixed Armistice Commissions. Relinquished this appointment in November 1949, becoming Regional Commander of the Southern Area with promotion to rank of Aloof. In October 1951 he relinquished this command and went to the United Kingdom for a course at the Senior Officers' School, Devizes. In May 1952 he was given command of the Northern Area and in December 1952 he went to G.H.Q. as Head of the General Staff Branch.

In December 1953 Dayan succeeded General Makleff as Chief of Staff of the Israel Defence Forces. He is no lover of ceremony, parties or administrative work and prefers the field to the office. Nevertheless, he is surprisingly studious and has a passion for archaeology. He inclines to the view that the Arab States best understand the language of force and is a skilful exponent of the "Activist" school of thought. He directed the operations against the Egyptians in the Sinai Peninsula and Gaza Strip in October-November 1956 with considerable ability and energy. Always a popular symbol, these dramatic military successes have made him almost a national hero. He openly admits his special association with a young Mapai group and it seems probable that he has political ambitions. He works closely with Mr. Ben-Gurion and might easily become Minister of Defence when the latter begins to shed his burdens.

Dayan is pleasant and intelligent; deliberately solitary he has few close friends. He has a reputation as a talented negotiator and is certainly an experienced one. His wife received part of her education in England and runs a successful organisation for the encouragements of handicrafts among immigrants from North Africa. They have three children.

33. Divon, Shmuel

Foreign Ministry official.

Born in Russia in 1917. Settled in Palestine in 1935. Educated at Hebrew University. Served as staff officer in Haganah in charge of Arab affairs. Served in Israel Legation at Paris. In 1956 appointed Assistant to the Foreign Minister on Arab affairs.

34. Dobkin, Eliahu

Member of the Jewish Agency Executive (1933).

Born Bobruisk, Russia, in 1898. Educated at high school and Kharkov University. An active Zionist, he administered the emigration office in Warsaw from 1914-30. He came to Palestine in 1932 and was subsequently elected deputy member of the Jewish Agency Executive (1935) and director of the Agency's Immigration Department (1932). From 1932 on he was continuously concerned with the organisation of immigration. He was a delegate to all the Zionist congresses from 1921 on and in 1933 became a full member of the Zionist Executive. He was a Mapai member of the Provisional Council of State from 1948-49 and later became chairman of the Organisation Committee of the Zionist Executive and was in charge of the arrangements for the 23rd Zionist Congress in Jerusalem. In 1951 he was re-elected a Mapai member of the Zionist Executive and became head of the Youth and Immigration Department of the Agency and also of its Administrative Department. He is also a member of the Foundation Fund Executive.

Mr. Dobkin is a leading member of Mapai but has hitherto devoted himself to Jewish Agency affairs and eschewed domestic politics.

35. Dori, Rav-Aloof Yaskov

Former Chief of Staff. President of Haifa Institute of Technology (1951).

Born 1899 at Odessa. In Palestine since 1906. Studied at Reali School, Haifa. Served in the Jewish Legion 1918-21, becoming sergeant-major. Studied at University of Ghent, Belgium, 1922-26 graduating as civil engineer. 1926-29, served in technical department of Palestine Zionist Executive. Associated from the start with the Haganah, from 1929 onwards he was entirely engaged in its service, becoming head of its training department, and, from 1939, its Chief of Staff. In 1945-47 spent eighteen months in the United States. Emerged into the open as Haganah leader in May 1948 and directed military operations throughout the Arab war. In November 1949 he relinquished the post of Chief of Staff and went abroad on sick leave. On his return he was seconded to the Prime Minister's office (May 1950) to act as Head of its Science Division, representing the Prime Minister in relations with various scientific bodies. In February 1951 he became president of the Haifa Institute of Technology (Technion), continuing part-time as head of the Scientific Division. He also became chairman of the board of directors of the Israel Mining Company, a Government development organisation. In 1951 he was also appointed a Government director of the new Dead Sea potash company.

Rav-Aloof Dori is a friendly man of broad culture and a good linguist who has spent much time in studying military literature and arranging for the production of military text books in Hebrew. A small bespectacled man, he looks more like a professor than a military commander, but he had experience of fighting in the Arab disturbances of 1921, 1929 and 1936-39. He has the reputation of being politically impartial, very hard working and personally modest. The reason given for his retirement from the army was weak health, and he undoubtedly suffers from an ulcerated stomach. But there were other reasons, among them his attachment to Haganah tradition and unadaptability to the needs of a modern army and his reluctance to weed out officers associated with Mapam. Since 1955 he has headed the body responsible for organising the Defence Fund.

36. Eban, Aba

Head of Israel Delegation to United Nations (1948) and Ambassador at Washington (1950).

Born in 1915 at Capetown of a Lithuanian Jewish family. Brought up in England and educated at Cambridge (1934-39), where he obtained a triple first in Arabic, Hebrew and Persian. Associated with the Zionist Movement from boyhood. Representative at the World Zionist Congress, Geneva, 1939. Commissioned in the British Forces, 1939, and sent to the Middle East as Chief Arab Censor at G.H.Q., Cairo, 1940. In 1942 he was appointed liaison officer with the Jewish Agency for special operations in the event of German occupation of Palestine. 1943, appointed Chief Instructor, Middle East Arab Centre, Jerusalem. 1946, head of the Jewish Agency's Information Department, London. Participated in the World Zionist Congress, Basle, 1946. Jewish Agency liaison officer with the United Nations Special Commission on Palestine, 1947. Went with the latter to New York, where he remained, assuming leadership of the Israel Delegation to the United Nations in July 1948. In May 1950 he was appointed to succeed Mr. Elath as Ambassador in Washington, at the same time remaining Permanent Representative at the United Nations.

Mr. Eban, whose Hebrew name of Even has not become established, even in Israel, is highly intelligent. He is a very sharp controversialist in his

official capacity and has been an eloquent though hardly conciliatory Israel spokesman at the United Nations. (Nevertheless, he is often accused by Israelis of excessive moderation.) He is in the inner counsels of the Government on all foreign matters of importance. Like many leading Israelis he has too much on his shoulders, but the rumoured separation of the Washington and United Nations posts would give him some badly needed relief.

37. Elath, Eliahu

Ambassador to the United Kingdom.

Born in 1903 at Snovsk (Ukraine), son of a timber merchant. Graduated at a non-Jewish school and began studying medicine at Kiev but was imprisoned in 1922 for participation in a secret congress of the Zionist Youth Movement. In 1923, after a short period of underground Zionist activity in Moscow, he made his way to Danzig to participate in a world conference of Hechaluts (pioneers). Remained in the Baltic for a year, organising illegal emigration from Russia via Latvia to Palestine, where he settled himself in 1925. Worked as agricultural labourer (secretary of the Rehovoth Labour Council) and construction labourer in Transjordan. Fought as a Haganah commander during the Arab disturbances of 1929. Studied Arabic at the Hebrew University and the American University, Beirut (1928-34). In 1930 he was awarded a Rockefeller Foundation scholarship for the study of the Syrian Bedouin. From 1931-34 was Reuter's representative in Beirut. On completion of his studies joined the political department of the Jewish Agency and from 1934-45 was head of its Middle and Near East Division. Travelled extensively in the area, including Persia and Turkey. From 1945 onwards the Agency employed him on various political missions in the United States, including the San Francisco conference. On the declaration of independence he became Israel diplomatic representative in Washington, his status being raised in February 1949 to that of Ambassador. Transferred to London as Minister in June 1950 and became Ambassador there in 1952.

Mr. Elath is a sociologist and orientalist and has written books on the Bedouin (among whom he has lived) and on Lebanon and Transjordan. He is an extremely intelligent and likeable person who inspires confidence and gives an impression of honesty and straightforwardness as well as ability. His wife has similar qualities.

38. Eliashar, Eliahu

Former Deputy Mayor of Jerusalem and former Sephardic M.K.

Born in 1899 at Jerusalem of an old-established family of local landowners. From 1922 until 1934 he served in the Palestine Government service and has since engaged in business. Is a director of several important commercial and financial companies and has been managing director of the Jerusalem Development Company and of Buildco, Limited.

Mr. Eliashar was formerly on the Board of the Jerusalem Jewish Council, and president of the Sephardic Community in Jerusalem. Elected to the Knesset in 1949 and 1951 but failed to secure election to the Third Knesset in 1955.

39. Erem, Moshe

Achdut Avoda M.K.

Born in Russia in 1896. Educated at the Universities of Leningrad and Moscow. Was from 1915-22 Commissar for Labour in the Soviet administration in Poland. He became one of the founders of the

Poalei Zion Party and came to Palestine in 1924. He was a delegate to Zionist congresses and was a senior official in the Ministry of Minorities until its dissolution. He was also for a number of years a member of the Histadrut Executive. In politics he joined the Left Poalei Zion faction which merged with Hashomer Hatzair and Achdut Avoda to form Mapam, and was elected a Mapam member of the Knesset in 1949 and re-elected in 1951. He took a prominent part in Peace Movement activities and on the occasion of Admiral Edelman's visit to Israel in 1951 he vigorously attacked the part the Royal Navy had played in preventing illegal immigration. He has consistently taken a stand with the extreme pro-Soviet members of his party. In 1951 he came into conflict with the Communist Party and was denounced by the Communist newspaper *Kol Ha'am* as a "veteran professional anti-Communist agitator" and as a "modern Titoist." In 1954 he left Mapam and became a member of the independent Achdut Avoda Party. He was re-elected to the Knesset in 1955.

40. Eshkol, Levi

Minister of Finance.

Born in 1895 at Ortowo (Ukraine). Received a high school and religious education at Vilna and came to Palestine in 1914. In 1918 he served in the Jewish Legion. He then participated in the foundation (1920) of two communal settlements (Degania "B" and Kiryat Anavim) and the smallholders' settlement of Ataroth (1922). Always associated with agricultural enterprise and author of numerous articles on colonisation, in 1935 he became a director of "Nir," the Histadrut agricultural credit institution, and a member of the Histadrut's Central Agricultural Council. Founder and manager of the "Mekorot" water company (1937). Became a director of the Workers' Bank and of the public works and housing corporations "Bizur" and "Amidar."

In 1948 Mr. Eshkol served for a time as one of the three "Assistants to the Minister of Defence" in the Provisional Government. A member of the Zionist General Council and Jewish Agency Executive, he became Director of the Agency's Agricultural Settlement Department. In October 1949 he was appointed acting treasurer of the Agency and was confirmed in that post by the Executive Plenary in January 1950.

In 1951 he was elected to the Knesset on the Mapai list. He continued as treasurer and head of the Settlement Department of the Jewish Agency, but in October 1951 he became Minister of Agriculture and Development as well. In June 1952 he succeeded Kaplan as Minister of Finance. He subsequently gave up his post as Jewish Agency Treasurer, but remained in charge of the Agency's Settlement Department and continued as a member of the Agency's Executive. He remained Minister of Finance in the coalition formed by Mr. Sharett in January 1954 and in the coalition formed by Mr. Ben-Gurion after the elections to the Third Knesset.

Mr. Eshkol is a leading member of the Government and has on several occasions acted as Prime Minister in the latter's absence, making him an obvious possibility for the succession. Able and sincere, he is an agreeable person to meet; but he has a tough and uncompromising side of his character and an inclination towards activism. Mr. Eshkol's approach to his job is essentially pragmatic and he has the reputation of being more realistic in his economic approach than some of his Mapai and Histadrut associates.

41. Eytan, Walter George

Director-General of Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Born in 1910 at Munich. Went to England as a boy. Naturalised British subject, 1926. Educated at St. Paul's School, London, and Queen's College, Oxford. Was lecturer on German philology at the latter, 1936-46. Joined the Royal Armoured Corps, 1939. Transferred in 1940 to Naval Intelligence in which he served till the end of hostilities. 1946, settled in Palestine and till 1947 directed the Jewish Agency's Public Services College. May 1948, appointed Director-General (Permanent Under-Secretary) of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Headed the Israel delegation to the armistice negotiations at Rhodes, 1948-49. Paid an official visit to India, 1952. He retains his interest in improving the quality of Israel's Civil Service and is chairman of the Public Commission for Civil Service Examinations.

Mr. Eytan is a highly intelligent and cultured person with moderate views though beneath his donnish exterior he is a fanatical Zionist. He has the reputation of being a good organiser. In the early summer of 1956 he made a long tour of Communist capitals, including Moscow. It is difficult to judge the extent of his influence in the formation of Israel's foreign policy, but there are indications that it is not much. He is always extremely approachable and friendly.

42. Foerder, Dr. Yeshayahu

Progressive M.K. and Chairman of the Board of Directors of Bank Leumi, Israel's largest commercial bank.

Born in Germany, 1901. Educated at the universities of Königsberg, Heidelberg and Freiburg. Was in practice as a lawyer in Berlin and secretary of the Zionist organisation in Germany. Came to Palestine in 1933 and was active in organising the settlement of middle-class immigrants. Was a delegate to Zionist congresses and was one of the founders of "Rassco," a company providing housing for immigrants. He was Food Controller from 1948-49. In 1949 he was elected to the Knesset on the Progressive list and was re-elected in 1951 and 1955. He is a member of the advisory council to the Investments Centre and in November 1952 became chairman of the Public Advisory Council for reparations from Germany.

Dr. Foerder is pro-British, friendly and the brains of the Progressive Party.

43. Galili, Israel

Achdut Avoda M.K.

Born in 1904 at Pinsk in the Ukraine and received a secondary education in Palestine. Active in the Haganah from early youth, he was second-in-command of its underground forces and acted as its Commander-in-Chief during the first months of the Arab war in 1948. For a time he served as one of three "Assistants to the Minister of Defence" in the Provisional Government, but quarrelled with Mr. Ben-Gurion over the spirit and organisation of the Army and the role of Palmach in it, and was dropped. He was a Mapam member of the Knesset from 1949-51. Though bitter about the Army Mr. Galili showed himself conciliatory on other questions debated by Mapam and Mapai. In the winter of 1949-50 he was active in the negotiations between the two parties and led the Mapam minority group which wished to continue them. Though opposing the Israel Government's stand over Korea and the secession of the Histadrut from the World Federation of Trade Unions, he emerged as a leader of the less extreme wing of Mapam,

who opposed the out-and-out pro-Cominform stand of Hashomer Hatzair. In June 1951 he was still a member of the Mapam Central Committee of five, but, probably as the result of disagreements with the extremists, he was placed last on the Mapam list for the 1951 elections, with no hope of re-election. In April 1952 the struggle between him and the extreme pro-Soviet group came to a head, and he was forced to resign from the Mapam Central Committee and from all other party committees. In 1954 he left the party with other members of the Achdut Avoda faction and became a M.K. in 1955.

Mr. Galili is a resident member of the mixed kibbutz at Na'an, which he helped to found (1930), and Chairman of the Regional Council in which it is comprised. He is a forceful speaker but lacks education. He visited the United Kingdom in 1954 under the auspices of the British Council.

44. Goldmann, Nahum

President, World Zionist Organisation, and Chairman of the Jewish Agency.

A United States citizen, born in 1894 in America. Studied at Marburg, Berlin and Heidelberg. He has been a member of the Jewish Agency Executive since 1935 and Chairman of the crucial American Section since 1949. He represented the Jewish Agency at the League of Nations between 1935-39 and in negotiations with His Majesty's Government and the United States Government between 1945-48 and the United Nations between 1947-48. Since the founding of the State, Dr. Goldmann has played a leading part in many important negotiations, particularly the Jewish-Israel Reparations Agreement with the West German Government in 1952. He exercises considerable influence within a large number of unofficial and semi-official Zionist organisations. He is also a publisher and author.

Previously Co-Chairman of the World Zionist Organisation with Mr. Berl Locker, in May this year he was overwhelmingly elected the first president of the organisation since Dr. Weizmann's resignation at the 22nd Congress.

Dr. Goldmann represents a strong body of moderate and realistic Zionist opinion which believes that World Jewry must not be pressed to do much more than give moral and financial support to Israel. He has regular clashes with Mr. Ben-Gurion over this. He intends to reorganise the Zionist Movement (which is much needed) but is probably not politically strong enough to succeed. Somewhat self-important he has recently been criticised in Israel for meddling in Arab-Israel politics.

45. Goldstein, Dr. Sydney

Scientist.

Born in 1903 at Hull, Yorkshire. Studied at Leeds and Cambridge (M.A., Ph.D., (1928)). Spent a year as a Rockefeller Research Fellow at the University of Goettingen and then worked at Manchester and Cambridge Universities. At Manchester, where he lectured in applied mathematics, he built up a school of fluid mechanics which has been described as "unsurpassed in Europe." At Cambridge he became a Fellow of St. John's. During the Second World War he worked on aeronautics at the National Physical Laboratory. He became chairman of the British Council for Aeronautical Research and a Fellow of the Royal Society.

In 1950 Dr. Goldstein came to Israel and began building up from nothing a Department of Aeronautical Engineering at the Haifa Institute of Technology with American funds. In 1951 he became vice-president of the institute. He spent 1954-55 as a visiting professor at Harvard.

Dr. Goldstein is one of the few Anglo-Saxon Jews who have thrown up distinguished careers to help build up the Jewish State. He is a strong, forceful personality. His wife is a South African and a physicist.

46. Granott, Dr. Abraham

Chairman of the Jewish National Fund.

Born in 1890 at Falesti (Bessarabia). Studied law and economics at Universities of Freiburg and Lausanne (Doctor of Law). Joined the staff of the Jewish National Fund in Holland, 1919; appointed its managing director, 1925; elected member (1934) and Chairman (1945) of its Board of Directors. In Palestine since 1922. Author of several books on Palestine land problems on which he is the leading authority. Director or chairman of various development, settlement and water companies. Member of the Executive Council of the Hebrew University and president of two important cultural foundations.

In the Provisional Council of State (1948-49) Mr. Granott was one of the six representatives of the General Zionists, but he left them at the foundation of the Progressive Party, of which he was elected M.K. (1949). He was not very active in the Knesset. He was at one time Chairman of the Finance Committee, but devoted himself mainly to the National Fund (Keren Kayemet), of which he is now chairman. In 1951 he was elected to the Second Knesset on the Progressive list, but resigned this seat two months later.

47. Grossman, Meir

Journalist: Director of External Relations Department of Jewish Agency.

Born in Russia in 1888. Studied in St. Petersburg and Berlin Universities. In 1905 he started to participate in Jewish public activities and launched a long journalistic career. During the first World War he joined Jabotinsky in his fight to acquire the right to set up Jewish battalions. After the war he founded, in London, the Jewish Information Bureau. With the establishment of the State he headed the Economic Department of the Jewish Agency. A member of the General Zionists he writes regularly in Hebrew in the world Jewish Press.

Dr. Grossman is an affable man and is well disposed towards Britain. His son studied in England and is a member of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

48. Habibi, Emile

Communist M.K.

Born at Haifa in 1921. Educated at secondary school. Became a journalist and was for a time editor of the Communist paper, *Al Ittihad*, being prominent in Communist activities in Palestine. He was fifth on the Communist list at the 1949 elections but was unsuccessful, and first entered the Knesset at the 1951 elections. Re-elected in 1955. He is a member of the Communist Central Committee. He is prominent in "Peace Movement" activities and has attended numerous peace congresses. He has visited the United Kingdom twice for conferences of the British Communist Party.

49. Hareabi, Aloof Mishne Yehoshophat

Director of Military Intelligence.

Born in Palestine in 1921. Served in the British Army during the Second World War. He later became a Company Commander in the Hagana. He is a graduate of the Hebrew University, and for a time served as a secretary to Sharett. In 1954 he attended a course in France, returning in May 1955, when he took up his present appointment.

Colonel Harcabi is a friendly, good-natured man, though rather intense. He has made a special study of North African affairs, and is regarded as one of Israel's leading experts on Arab affairs. He is not one of those who believe that the Arabs only understand force.

50. Hacohen, David

Mapai M.K.

Born in 1898 at Homel (White Russia). His father, a distinguished Hebrew writer and founder of co-operative financial institutions, brought him to Palestine as a boy (1907). Educated at Herzliya Gymnasium in Tel Aviv and the military school, Istanbul. Served as a Turkish Army officer in the First World War. Studied at the London School of Economics. A founder of Solel Boneh (1924) and is one of its leading directors as he is of various other associated companies of the Histadrut and of the Zim Shipping Company. Became Municipal Councillor, Haifa, in 1927 and was Deputy Mayor from 1948-51. During the Arab rebellion he was associated with Brigadier Wingate in the organisation of the "Night Squads." During the Second World War he collaborated with the Ministry of Economic Warfare in organising pro-Allied broadcasts to Syria and supplied Solel Boneh personnel for work with the British Forces outside Palestine. An important member of the Haganah and believed responsible for its sapper work, in 1946 he was among the Zionist leaders detained at Latrun. Elected M.K. (Mapai) in 1949 and re-elected to Second Knesset in 1951, he became a member of Mapai's Steering Committee and of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Security Committee. He was an alternate delegate to the 1951 United Nations General Assembly and took a prominent part in Inter-parliamentary Union activities. In July 1953 he accepted, somewhat reluctantly, the post of first Israel Minister to Burma. He, nevertheless, threw himself wholeheartedly into his work and in a short time built up close and apparently friendly ties between the two countries; he also travelled a good deal in the other countries of South-East Asia. In 1954 he again attended the United Nations General Assembly as a member of the Israel Delegation. He returned to Israel in 1955 and was again elected to the Knesset.

Mr. Hacohen is an energetic, forceful and tactless man. A very successful business manager, he behaves more like a typical company director than a trade unionist. He is personally friendly but his orientation is rather more towards the United States than towards the United Kingdom. His wife (*née* Bracha Habas, which is still her *nom de plume*) is a prominent journalist and Mapai intellectual.

51. Hakim, Mgr. George

Greek Catholic Archbishop of Acre, Haifa, Nazareth and Galilee.

Born at Tanta, Egypt, in 1908. Educated at the Jesuit College at Cairo and St. Anne's Seminary, Jerusalem. Ordained priest in 1930, he taught at the Patriarchal School in Beirut, and then became moderator and subsequently principal of the Patriarchal School at Cairo. He made a great success of this post. In Egypt he published a French periodical called *Le Lien* and he also founded an Arabic periodical called *Ar-Rabita (The Link)* which is published in Haifa and is the organ of the Greek Catholics in Israel.

In 1943 he came to Haifa as Archbishop. Though at first opposed to the founding of the Jewish State, he has found a *modus vivendi* with the Israel authorities and is allowed to pay visits to Beirut and the Old City of Jerusalem on Church and refugee business. He is anti-Communist, and his activities

among the Arab population in Israel have brought him into violent conflict with the Communist Party. Hakim regards himself as the unofficial leader of the Arab minority in Israel. He identified himself with Mapai at the 1955 general election.

52. Harari, Izhar

Progressive M.K.

Born in 1908 at Jaffa. Educated at the Herzliya Gymnasium at Tel-Aviv, the Sorbonne, the Law School in Jerusalem and the London School of Economics. He also studied at the School of Journalism in Paris. From 1934 he was in private legal practice and in 1938 he became legal adviser to some municipal councils. He was a delegate to Zionist Congresses and a member of the Zionist Actions Committee and of the Central Committee of the Israel Bar Association. In 1948 he joined the Israel Army and was appointed vice-president of the Military High Court with the rank of Sgan-Aloof (Lieut.-Colonel). He retired from the army after his election to the Knesset in 1949, where became chairman of the House Committee and made a considerable contribution to the determining of parliamentary procedure. He was re-elected in 1951 and 1955. He is one of the leading legal experts in the Knesset and plays an active part in debates. He has advocated the unification of education and the passing of a series of fundamental laws to be eventually combined in one constitution. In July 1950 he was a member of the parliamentary delegation to the United Kingdom. In 1953 he was offered the post of first Israel Minister to Canada but turned it down.

53. Hering, Ze'ev

Head of the Organisation Department of Histadrut.

Born in Poland in 1910. Educated at Warsaw University. Speaks English, German and Polish. Is married and has one son. He spent two years in the early 1950's at the London School of Economics, a period on which he looks back with great pleasure. He is a member of the Central Committee of Mapai and is head of the Histadrut's Organisation Department in which capacity he reports direct to the Secretary-General. He is very serious-minded and commands considerable respect among the leaders of both Mapai and the Histadrut. He is younger than most responsible persons in the labour movement. He is soberly but firmly pro-British.

54. Herzog, Ya'acov

Minister at Washington.

Born in Ireland in 1921 and came to Palestine in 1936 with his father, Isaac (*q.v.*), who became Ashkenazi Chief Rabbi soon after his arrival. After a thorough religious education he studied law at the Hebrew University and became Director of Christian Affairs in the Ministry of Religion on the foundation of the State.

In 1949 he became responsible for questions related to the status of Jerusalem, in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and was a member of the Israel Delegation to the United Nations when this issue was debated in the same year. Since then he has risen fast in the Ministry and became not merely Head of its American Division, but one of Mr. Ben-Gurion's closest political advisers. As such he was put in charge of the so-called "Sinai Bureau" which co-ordinated Israel's diplomatic activities following the campaign. In September 1957 he replaced Mr. Shiloah (*q.v.*) as Minister at Washington.

Mr. Hertzog is undoubtedly able and most influential, but gives an unfortunate impression of arrogant fanaticism. The United States Embassy have found him rather trying to deal with.

55. Herzog, Yitzhak

Chief Rabbi of the Ashkenazim.

Born at Rodvilski in 1888. Educated at Leeds University (M.A.), and is a D.Litt. of London University. Also studied at the Sorbonne and Ecole des Langues Orientales, Paris. Became a Rabbi in 1910. Was Rabbi of Belfast (1916) and Chief Rabbi of the Irish Free State (1925). Chief Rabbi of the Ashkenazi Community in Palestine since 1936, resident in Jerusalem. Member of various learned societies and author of numerous books and studies.

A venerable-looking figure in a top hat, Dr. Herzog appears on all national occasions among the leaders of Israel. He is not much consulted by them but wields considerable indirect influence through the religious party in the Knesset. His fierce opposition to the Women's Conscription Amendments introduced by Mr. Ben-Gurion in the spring of 1951 and again in 1953 produced direct conflict between the Rabbinate and Mapai, but on other occasions he has usually managed to keep clear of politics. He has the reputation of being sincerely anglophile. A man of great learning and considerable acumen, but he is beginning to show his age.

56. Hinin, David

Member of Communist Party Politburo.

Born Roumania in 1923 and came to Israel in 1936 when he quickly made his name in the Communist youth movement. By 1956 he was a member of the Politburo and the party's representative on the Executive Committee of Histadrut. Has attended Peace Conferences, &c., in Paris (1949)—when he toured Eastern Europe, in Peking (1956) and Moscow (1957). Ambitious, talented and forceful he is considered by his colleagues to be a full-blooded revolutionary Bolshevik. Ill-educated in all but Communist theory, he speaks fluent Russian and retains Russian citizenship.

57. Horowitz, David

Governor of the State Bank.

Born 1899 at Drohobycz (Galicia). Educated at Lwow and Vienna. Came to Palestine in 1919. Took part in land reclamation, Nahalal (1921). Member, Histadrut Council (1920) and Executive Council (1923). Author of books on economic and political subjects. Economic adviser to the American Economic Committee for Palestine (1932-35). Economic Adviser to the Treasury of the Jewish Agency, Director of its Economic Department and Co-Director of its Economic Research Institute (1935-48). Lecturer at the High School for Law and Economics, Tel Aviv. Was member of various Government committees of the mandatory régime, including the Standing Committees for Commerce and Industry and the Textile Advisory Board. Appeared as economic expert before the Royal Commission of 1937, the Anglo-American Commission of 1946 and the United Nations Commission of 1947. Was attached to the latter as liaison officer and followed it to Lake Success as member of the Jewish Delegation. Director-General of the Ministry of Finance from May 1948 until June 1952, and from 1950-52 was also Economic Adviser to the Government. In March 1953 he was appointed first director of the new State Bank and put in charge of the preparatory work. A month later he also became chairman of the Foreign Currency Board. He became Governor of the State Bank (which carries ministerial status) when it opened on December 1, 1954. A director of Histadrut workers' housing companies, of a South African group of companies and other enterprises.

Mr. Horowitz is a man of unusual energy and intelligence and for four years dominated the Ministry of Finance. He had all the strings of

financial and economic policy in his hands. He is an able and skilful negotiator, and played the leading Israel part in the conclusion of the Anglo-Israel financial agreement of March 1950 concerning the liquidation of the Mandate, and the negotiations for the release of Israel's sterling balances, and the unsuccessful negotiations for sterling credits for the purchase of oil in 1952.

He did not see eye to eye with Mr. Ben-Gurion and resigned his office as soon as Mr. Kaplan left the Ministry of Finance. He carried the main burden of keeping Israel solvent in the early years of the State and continues to give sound, if unpopular, economic advice. A friendly but argumentative man, he gives the impression of being pro-British.

58. Hushi (or Khoushy), Aba

Mayor of Haifa.

Born 1898 in Poland and educated there. Came to Palestine in 1920 and first worked as a labourer in Haifa port and in the settlements. Later occupied various positions in the Haifa Labour Council and became its secretary. He was one of the founders of the Palestine Labour Union.

In due course he became a member of the Histadrut Executive and of the management of Solel Boneh. In 1949, as a member of Mapai, he was elected to the Knesset, and remained a member until January 1951, when he was elected Mayor of Haifa. Re-elected Mayor in 1955.

A man of great energy, Mr. Hushi is dictatorial and ruthless but unquestionably able. He has great plans for the improvement of Haifa and is throwing himself wholeheartedly into them. He has for long enjoyed good relations with Arabs and advocated solidarity between Jewish and Arab labour.

59. Hyman, Zemach

Consul-General in New York.

Born in London in 1889, the son of an East-End Rabbi. He and his wife met when they were medical students. He served in Palestine during the First World War in the Jewish Legion and settled in the country in 1922, joining the staff of Barclays Bank (D.C. & O.) and becoming manager of its Western Jerusalem branch. He was appointed Economic Counsellor in Washington in 1950 and transferred to South Africa as Minister at the end of 1951. In 1951 he was appointed Consul-General in New York but is reported to be leaving the Foreign Service shortly and may return to Barclays Bank. Both he and his wife are extremely friendly and helpful. He has three children.

60. Izakson, Zvi

Chairman of the board of directors of the Pardess Syndicate Co-operative Society.

Born in Minsk in 1888, he came to Palestine as a child. Studied at the Mikve Israel Agricultural School near Tel Aviv and also in Turkey. During the First World War he lived in the United States and took part in all local and Zionist activities. He returned to Palestine in 1920 and settled in Jerusalem, where he founded a carpet factory. In 1926 he planted an orange grove in Petah Tikva, and from then on started to devote himself to citrus planting and its marketing. In 1932 he moved to Tel Aviv, at which time he became a leading figure in the Farmers' Association; he is one of those responsible for the setting up of the Palestine Citrus Marketing Board. He is very active in communal affairs, is a member of the Executive Committee of the General Zionist Organisation, and president and chairman of various companies and organisations, e.g., president, Farmers' Federation of Israel;

chairman, board of directors, Pardess Syndicate Co-operative Society (Limited), (dealing in citrus); chairman of the Jewish Farmers' Company (Limited); director of Marine Trust Company (Limited). Though criticised for not relinquishing office (being 69) he remains competent.

61. Joseph, Dr. Dov (Bernard)

Mapai M.K.
Born in 1899 at Montreal. Studied law at London and McGill Universities (Ph.D., LL.B.). Was President of the "Young Judea" organisation in Canada. Came to Palestine in 1921. Was in private legal practice in Jerusalem and for several years served as legal adviser and Deputy Head of the Political Department of the Jewish Agency. Member of its Executive, 1945-48. One of the Jewish leaders detained at Latrun in 1946. Originally a Revisionist, he joined Mapai in 1933. In 1948 he became Military Governor of Jewish Jerusalem and successfully organised essential supplies during the siege. Elected Mapai M.K., 1949, and appointed Minister of Supply and Rationing, he succeeded, despite much public grumbling, in applying an "austerity" programme.

In the Cabinet reshuffle of October 1950, which was largely occasioned by criticism of his handling of economic controls, he took over the Ministry of Communications. Re-elected to the Second Knesset in 1951, he became Minister of Trade and Industry and also Minister of Justice. In June 1953 he was appointed Minister for Development, which post he retained on the formation of the coalition by Mr. Sharett in January 1954. In the Government reshuffle following the 1955 elections he had to surrender his Ministry which was given to Mapam. Since then he has rather dropped out of the picture.

Dr. Joseph has a rather mild and unimpressive exterior, but is endowed with considerable courage and intelligence. By family connexions and personal inclination he is anglophile. His wife also is Canadian born. A daughter was killed in the Palestine War in 1948.

62. Josephthal, Dr. Giora

Secretary-General of Mapai.
Born at Nuremberg in 1912. A leading member of the Jewish Agency Executive, he was for a number of years head of the Absorption Department of the Jewish Agency and in 1952 succeeded Eshkol as treasurer. He is a member of kibbutz Gal-Ed, near Haifa. A leading member of Mapai, he was in August 1951 re-elected to the Zionist Executive as a Mapai member. In March 1952 he was a member of the Israel delegation which negotiated with representatives of Western Germany for the payment of reparations. Two months later he was offered the Ministry of Finance by Mr. Ben-Gurion but refused it. In October 1952 he was appointed chairman of the German Reparations Purchasing Company.

Formerly Treasurer of the Jewish Agency he was elected to his present post in August 1956 to revitalise a complacent and excessively bureaucratic party. He has had fair success—and has naturally made enemies in the process.

63. Kidron, Mordechai

Diplomat. Deputy to permanent Israel delegate to United Nations.

Born in South Africa and served in Second World War in South African Air Force and infantry. Came to Palestine after the war and studied at the Hebrew University. During the siege of Jerusalem he was military governor of the southern part of the city. After the Palestine War he joined the staff of

the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and was sent abroad on several missions. He became in 1949 first secretary and in 1950 counsellor at the Israel Legation in London and in 1951 returned to the Ministry as head of the International Relations Division.

Mr. Kidron has an almost exaggeratedly English manner, but cannot be relied on as pro-British on that account. He is efficient and quick. His wife is Italian and pleasant.

64. Kol, Moshe

Member of the Zionist Executive.

Born at Pinsk in 1911. Educated there and at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, having come to Palestine in 1932. Always an active Zionist, he was one of the founders of the General Zionist Organisation in Palestine. He was appointed to the Zionist Executive in 1937 and was first chairman of the Central General Labour Office in Israel. He was a member of the Provisional Government from May 1948 until February 1949, but since 1949 has concerned himself almost exclusively with Jewish Agency affairs, being in charge of Youth Aliyah, and with the organisation of Jewish appeals. In 1949 he was one of the General Zionists who formed the Progressive Party and was third on the party's electoral list, but did not take his seat. In July 1951 he was again elected, but resigned two months later, when he became Deputy Treasurer of the new Jewish Agency Executive and again head of the Youth Aliyah Department of the Agency. He was elected to the Knesset again in 1955 but once more gave up his seat. He still sits in the Zionist Executive as a General Zionist.

65. Kollek, Theodore (Teddy)

Head of the Prime Minister's Office and of the Government Tourist Office.

Born at Vienna in 1911. A member of kibbutz Ein Gev. He acted as Haganah envoy to the United States before the end of the Mandate and was a leading Haganah intelligence officer, and was also active in the Zionist cause in England as a member of the Political Department of the Jewish Agency. In 1950 he became head of the North American Division of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In 1950 also he acted as secretary to the conference of American Jewish leaders in Jerusalem and at the end of the year was appointed Minister at the Israel Embassy at Washington to supervise fund-raising activities. In 1952 he was released to go to Harvard, but a month later was recalled to Israel and was appointed head of the Prime Minister's Office. He was appointed Head of the Government Tourist Office in 1955. Generally regarded as one of the coming young men, he wields considerable political influence.

He speaks good English and is frank, forthcoming and intelligent.

66. Kosloff, Israel R.

Fuel Adviser to the Government.

Born in 1920 in Jerusalem. From 1939 to 1946 he studied at the University of Chicago, from which he obtained degrees in economics. From 1944 to 1946 was employed by the Standard Oil Company of Indiana. He then returned to Jerusalem to take up an appointment with the Palestine Economic Corporation. In 1947 he paid a second visit to the United States and was employed by the Richfield Oil Company of Los Angeles. In 1949 he returned to Israel and entered Government service as an expert on oil matters, later receiving the appointment of Fuel Adviser and Petroleum Commissioner.

Mr. Kosloff has an excellent brain and is a hard worker. He has acquired considerable experience

in the technique of negotiation, having represented his country's interests at discussions in London, Washington, Moscow, and other European capitals. Inclined to a certain vanity and to a hot temper which can temporarily cloud his judgment, he is apt also to irritate people by his tactics of playing off one party against another. He does not enjoy the confidence of the foreign oil companies. He has had a busy year, securing oil supplies from Iran and dealing, not too tactfully, with the Shell issue.

Mr. Kosloff's wife is the daughter of the late Mr. Max W. Ball, oil geologist in Washington, who has devoted a good deal of study to the oil and mineral resources in the Near East.

67. Laskov, Aloof (Brigadier) Chaim

Commander of Southern Command.

Born in Russia in 1919. Came to Palestine as a child and was educated at the Reali School at Haifa. He served in the Haganah as a young man and from 1936-37 was a member of Wingate's night squads. From 1941-46 he saw much active service in the British Army, reaching the rank of major. He joined the Israel Army in 1948 and became a staff officer, a battalion commander and later a brigade commander. In August 1948 he became Director of Training, a post which he held for over three years, during which time he wrote some of the army textbooks. He paid an official visit to the United Kingdom in 1951 and in August of that year was appointment of Commander of the Armoured Corps, removed from this command in May 1953, after differences with General Makleff, and went to study in England. He returned in August 1955, having benefited enormously from his stay in England and having acquired a very balanced outlook on life. He was immediately appointed head of "G" Branch and Deputy Chief-of-Staff. In July 1956, following friction with General Dayan he was given the lower appointment of Commander of the Armoured Corps. The Armoured Corps, however, needed reorganising and revitalising and Laskov was the man to do it. In the Sinai campaign Laskov commanded the Northern Division which was responsible for the capture of Abu Ageila and operations in the Gaza Strip, El Arish, and westward towards Ismailia and Qantara. It was largely through his drive and efficiency that these operations were such a success. He was never given public recognition for his services owing, it is said, to General Dayan's dislike of him. In November 1956 he was appointed Commander, Southern Command, on the death of Aluf Mishne Simhoni. Brigadier Laskov speaks English, German and Arabic in addition to Hebrew.

Of all the senior officers in the Israel armed services Brigadier Laskov is the most outspokenly pro-British and has a great admiration for British service methods. He is direct and forceful and has the reputation of being an extremely hard worker. He has great powers of organisation, personality and drive.

68. Lavon, Pinhas

General Secretary of the Histadrut and Mapai M.K.

Born 1904 at Kopyczun in Poland. Studied law at Lwow University. A founder of the Gordonia Youth Movement, he came to Palestine in 1929 and with its first pioneers participated in the foundation of Hulda communal settlement, of which he is still a member. Active in foundation and enlargement of the federation of Mapai communal villages (Hever Hakvutsoth). Served in the secretariat of Mapai 1935-37, and has been on its Executive Committee since 1943. Member of the Histadrut Executive since 1944 and secretary-general from July 1949 to October 1950. Chairman of the Solel Boneh

Council and member of the Zionist General Council. Mapai M.K., 1949. Took a leading part in efforts made at the beginning of 1950 to bring Mapam into the Government. Led a Knesset delegation to the United Kingdom in July 1950. In October 1950 he became Minister of Agriculture, a post he held till October 1951, when he left the Government as a result of differences with his colleagues over the priority to be given to foreign currency allocations for food imports. Re-elected to second Knesset, 1951, and to the third Knesset in 1955.

In 1952 he was made Minister without Portfolio and on several occasions acted as Minister of Defence in the absence of Mr. Ben-Gurion. On the latter's resignation as Prime Minister in December 1953, he again served as acting Minister of Defence and was confirmed as Minister in Mr. Sharett's Government. He resigned from the Government in February 1955 after differences with Mr. Sharett over defence policy.

Mr. Lavon is a leading Mapai personality. He has for many years been a close associate of Mr. Ben-Gurion and has, at times, been second to none in his advocacy of a rigorous "activist" policy.

Became General Secretary of the Histadrut in the reshuffle following Mr. Sharett's resignation in June 1956. He has recently been ill, but is, if his health holds out, believed by some to be a possible successor to Mr. Ben-Gurion.

69. Levanon, Chaim

Mayor of Tel Aviv.

Born in 1899 in Cracow, Galicia. Educated at a Yeshiva and at Cracow University. After the First World War he entered an engineering college and was one of the founders of the Mazrachi Youth Movement. He went to an agricultural training farm for Zionist pioneers and in 1927 he came to Israel and settled in Petah Tiqva, becoming a teacher. He was a founder of the General Zionist Youth Movement and Secretary-General of the party in his area. In 1931 he became Secretary-General of the whole party, travelling abroad frequently on party missions. He was one of the founders and directors of the party newspaper, *Haboker*. After 1939 he established and became secretary of the General Zionist Workers' Association. In 1951 he was elected a councillor and subsequently Deputy Mayor of Tel Aviv. In December 1952 he became Acting Mayor when Mr. Rokach became Minister of the Interior, and in April 1953 he was elected Mayor. He was re-elected Mayor in 1955 against the strong opposition of Mapai.

70. Levavi, Arie

Assistant Director-General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Born at Vilna in 1912. On joining the Israel Foreign Service he was posted to the Israel Legation in Moscow, returning to the Ministry in 1950 on his appointment as head of the Eastern European Division. In May 1952, on the reorganisation of the Ministry, he became Assistant Director-General in charge of the Eastern Europe and Mediterranean areas. From 1954 to 1957 he served as Israel Minister to Yugoslavia. Extremely intelligent and an expert on the Soviet bloc.

71. Levin, Rabbi Yitzhak Meir

Agudat Israel M.K.

Born 1894 at Gur (Poland), the son of a Rabbi. After an ultra-religious education he helped to found and later presided over the Polish branch of the World Agudath Israel. Served as representative of Orthodox Jewry in the Warsaw Community Council and was for many years a member of the Polish Sejm. He frequently visited Palestine and, though

opposed to political Zionism, did much to propagate the idea of immigration in orthodox circles.

Settling in Palestine in 1940, Rabbi Levin, as a leading member of the Palestine Agudists, went on several missions to the United States and later became Chairman of the World Executive of the Agudath Israel. He was one of the organisers of the "Rescue Committee" for European Jewry. When in May 1948 the Agudists ceased posing as "non-political," Rabbi Levin entered the Provisional Government as Minister of Social Welfare. He ceased to be a Minister when the Agudist parties left the Government in September 1952. He was re-elected to the Knesset in 1955.

A small bespectacled man with a large beard, wearing a long black coat and skull cap, Rabbi Levin cuts a very rabbinical figure. He is given to making scenes over questions of religious observance, equality of rights for religious Jews and so on. But like many ultra-orthodox Jews he combines reactionary obscurantism with shrewd business capacity.

72. Livneh, Eliezer

Former Mapai M.K.

Born 1902 at Lodz (Poland). Educated at a secondary school in Germany and privately in Germany and England. Came to Palestine in 1920 and became a member of kibbutz Ein Harod. Visited Germany from 1929 to 1931 and on return to Palestine joined Mapai. In 1935-36 he was in the United Kingdom on behalf of the Kibbutz Meuhad movement. He became in due course a member of the Histadrut executive and one of Mapai's leading publicists. He served on the editorial staff of *Davar* and the Jewish Agency "Maarachoth" and from 1948-49 was editor of the Mapai daily newspaper, *Hador*. He also edited the Haganah underground news sheet from 1941-47. He became very anti-Soviet and now edits his own monthly journal, *Beterem*. In 1950 he declined an offer of the post of Director of the Voice of America Hebrew broadcasts. He is a member of the Zionist Executive and the Mapai Secretariat and a founder of the Israel-America Friendship League. As a result of differences with his party, he was placed at the end of the party's list for the Third Knesset and was not re-elected.

Mr. Livneh is able and a forceful speaker: although much criticised within the party for his comparatively luxurious way of life, he is recognised as an authority on foreign affairs on which he often takes an independent line. He professes admiration for the United Kingdom, though he is generally critical of our "passive" policy towards the Arab-Israel dispute.

73. Looz (or Luz), Kadesh

Minister of Agriculture.

Born in Russia in 1895. Educated at Karlsruhe and Odessa. Settled in Palestine in 1920. He is a member of the Executive Committee of the Histadrut and the Central Committee of Mapai. He has been a member of the Knesset since 1951, is one of Mapai's leading agricultural experts and lives at one of the party's collective settlements in Galilee.

74. Lourie, Arthur

Ambassador to Canada.

Born in South Africa in 1903. Educated at Cape Town, Cambridge and Harvard (M.A., LL.B.). Was in private law practice in South Africa and lecturer in Roman Dutch Law at the Witwatersrand University 1927-32. Political secretary to the Jewish Agency in London, 1933. After the Second World War he became Director of the United Nations Office of the Jewish Agency in New York

and in 1946 he was liaison officer with the Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry in Palestine. In 1948 he became Israel Consul-General in New York and Deputy Permanent Representative of Israel to the United Nations. In 1950 he was given the personal rank of Minister. He returned to Israel in 1953 as Director of the British Commonwealth Division. Promoted Assistant Director-General in 1955 and served as such until he received his present appointment in mid-1957. Mr. Lourie is intelligent with an unobtrusive personality, and is generally as helpful and constructive as he can be within the limits of his authority. His reputation as an Anglophil sometimes causes him to react with more emotion than judgment when differences between the two Governments arise. He has been married twice and has two children by his first wife. His present wife is friendly and conceals much competence under an attractive veneer of vagueness.

75. Makleff, Mordechai

Born in 1920 at Motza, Palestine, of a family most of whose members were murdered by Arabs in 1929. Graduate of the Technical College, Haifa. On leaving it, joined Wingate's "night squads" and served in the Haganah. Joined the British Army in 1941 and served till 1945, first with the Buffs in the Middle East and then in the Jewish Brigade in Europe, rising to the rank of major. Was an officer of the Israel unit which took Haifa from the Arabs in April 1948 and subsequently fought as junior and senior officer (Divisional Chief of Staff) throughout the 1948 campaign in Galilee. Headed the military delegation at the armistice negotiations with Lebanon and with Syria, 1949, and then became Director of Staff Duties and in November 1949 Deputy Chief of Staff. Attended a course at the Administrative Staff College, Henley, in 1952, and subsequently visited the United States. In December 1952, he was appointed Chief of Staff in succession to General Yadin and promoted to "Rav Aloof."

Although he had made a high reputation as a fighter in Israel and was undoubtedly an able administrator, he lacked the personality for his high office as Chief of Staff and this was, no doubt, one of the reasons for his replacement by General Dayan in December 1953. He has since been general manager of the Government-controlled Dead Sea Potash Company, and as such has been criticised over the company's disappointing production results. He speaks English and Arabic. Married.

76. Mazar, Dr. Benjamin

President and Rector of the Hebrew University. Born Grodno, Poland, in 1906. Educated at schools in Russia and Germany and at the Universities of Berlin and Giessen (Ph.D., 1938). Came to Palestine in 1929 and worked as an archaeologist, carrying out a number of excavations. Connected with the Hebrew University since 1943, he was chairman of its Institute of Jewish Studies and lecturer on the historical geography of Palestine. In 1951 he was elected to a professorship at the University, and in June 1952 he became Rector. In March 1953 he was also elected president of the University.

Dr. Mazar is married to the daughter of the President.

77. Meir, Mrs. Golda (formerly Myerson)

Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Born in 1898 at Kiev, 1906, emigrated with her father, a carpenter, to Milwaukee, United States, where she attended high school, graduated at the Teachers' Training College (1920) and joined the Poalei Zion (Socialist-Zionist) Party. Settled in

Palestine in 1921, starting as member and agricultural labourer of Merhavia Kibbutz (Hashomer Hatsair), 1921-24. With Solel Boneh, 1924-26. Since 1928 member of the Working Women's Council and its representative in the Histadrut Executive. Associated with Mapai since its foundation (1930). Very active as Histadrut fund-raiser, frequently visiting the United States and the United Kingdom; spent the whole of 1932-33 in America in this capacity. Delegate to Zionist Congresses since 1929 and to the Imperial Labour Conference, London, 1930. Member of the Zionist General Council. Chairman of the Sick Fund (Kupat Holim), 1936-48. Member of the Va'ad Leumi, 1938-48. Director of a number of local economic and cultural institutions. Head of the Histadrut Political Department from 1940 and secretary of the Histadrut Executive, 1945-46. Member of the War Economic Advisory Council set up in 1943. Acting head of the Jewish Agency Political Department during the internment of political leaders in 1946, and head of its Jerusalem branch, 1947.

In May 1948 Mrs. Meir became member of the Provisional Council of State but resigned from it on appointment as Israel Minister in Moscow (August 1948 to April 1949). Elected a Mapai M.K. in 1949. She made no headway with the Russians and was not happy in Moscow. Her husband died in May 1951. In 1953 she led the Israel delegation to the second half of the United Nations General Assembly. She became Foreign Minister in the reshuffle following Mr. Sharett's resignation in June 1956. She has survived the critical months since then with heightened reputation. But her scope for initiative is narrow, her role being essentially that of an instrument for Mr. Ben-Gurion's policies. An honest, dignified and fundamentally simple woman, Mrs. Meir is friendly to deal with, although occasionally emotional. She has a strong personality and is an excellent speaker.

78. Meron, Dr. Gershon Yaakov

Economist and General Manager of the Israel Fuel Corporation.

Born 1904 at Mannheim, Germany. Studied at the University of Heidelberg where he took the degrees of doctor of laws and doctor of economic science. Lecturer in commercial law, 1928. Served in various Government capacities, 1929-32. Left Germany in 1932 for Palestine where he was first employed with Barclays Bank. Manager of the Jacob Japhet Bank, Tel Aviv, 1934-35. Financial and economic adviser to Solel Boneh, 1945-48. Director of the Economic Division of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1948-51. During 1950 was also for some months Director-General of the Ministry of Trade and Industry. Became General Manager of the Israel Fuel Corporation, September 1951. He is also Honorary Consul for the Philippine Republic.

Has written several books on sociological, economic and legal subjects and on Germany. Published, 1944, "Jewish Labour Economy in Palestine" in co-operation with Ernest Kahn, and, 1947, "Labour Enterprise in Palestine." Dr. Meron is an intelligent, friendly and likeable person and apparently keen to strengthen Anglo-Israel relations. In spite of a somewhat sorrowful demeanour, he has a strong sense of quiet humour.

79. Mikunis, Shmuel

Communist M.K. and secretary-general of the Israel Communist Party.

Born in 1904 in Poland. Came to Palestine in 1921. Employed by the Shell Company as an engineer in Tel Aviv and was at one time an actor at the "Ohel" Theatre, of which he was one of the

founders. Worked with the League for Jewish-Arab Rapprochement. Imprisoned in 1941 for illegal Communist activities. Published *Kol Ha'am* in Tel Aviv, 1944, and was at one time Secretary-General of the League for Friendly Relations with the USSR. Studied tactics and propaganda methods of Communist organisations in France and after the World War was in touch with French Resistance and Jewish Communist circles. Communist member of the Elected Assembly, 1944. Elected leader of the Palestine Communist Party in 1945. As such, he represented the party at the British Empire Communist Parties Conference in London, 1947, became member of the Provisional Council of State, 1948. In 1948 he arranged a merger with local Arab Communist elements and was elected Deputy, 1949, at the head of the combined "Israel Communist Party" list. He visits Moscow on an average once a year ostensibly for reasons of health.

He is firmly established as the leader of the party. All through he has remained a consistent supporter of Russian policy and virulent critic of the Israel Government. He speaks fluent Russian and Yiddish.

80. Moses, Siegfried

State Comptroller.

Born in Germany in 1887, educated at Berlin. President of the Zionist Organisation in Germany before coming to Israel in 1937. Has spent his professional life in law and public auditing. A widely respected figure he has written extensively on economic and financial subjects, particularly income tax. His post, to which he was appointed in 1949, is not unlike that of Auditor-General in the United Kingdom.

81. Namir, Mordechai

Minister of Labour.

Born Bratolubovka, Ukraine, in 1897. Educated in Russia. Came to Palestine in 1924. Worked as an unskilled labourer and then as circulation manager of the Labour newspaper, *Davar*. He then worked for some time as secretary of the Tel-Aviv branch of Achdut Avoda (the Jewish Labour Party) and on his own account as a statistician. In 1929 he was made Director of the Statistical Department of the Histadrut. In 1933 he became also a municipal councillor in Tel Aviv. In 1940 he was detained by the Palestine Government on charges of agitating against the 1939 White Paper and the Land Transfer Regulations. In 1943 he became Secretary-General of Mapai and from 1944-48 he was Head of the Trade Union Department of the Histadrut and a member of the Histadrut Secretariat. He was also a delegate to Zionist congresses.

In May 1948 he was sent as a special envoy to Roumania, and later as Counsellor to Moscow, where in 1949 he became Minister. Returned to Israel in December 1950 to become General Secretary of the Histadrut. Elected to Second Knesset on Mapai list in 1951 and re-elected in 1955. He was appointed Minister of Labour in June 1956 in the Cabinet reshuffle which followed Mr. Sharett's resignation.

Mr. Namir is a widower and although quiet and unpretentious, a man of strong personality and integrity. He speaks a little English.

82. Naphtali, Dr. Peretz

Minister without Portfolio and Treasurer of the Jewish Agency.

Born at Berlin in 1888. Educated at Berlin University. Worked as a journalist from 1912 and was economic editor of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, 1921-26. Manager of the Economic Research Bureau of the German Labour Movement, 1926-33.

Was one of the leaders of the Social Democratic Party in Germany and of the Social Democrat Trade Unions. Represented German trade unions in the Reichs-Wirtschaftsrat. Joined the Poalei Zion. Came to Palestine in 1933 and became a lecturer at Haifa Institute of Technology and Tel Aviv. Became managing director of the Workers' Bank (1938-45) and a member of the Tel Aviv municipality (1939) and later economic adviser to the Prime Minister. Elected to the Knesset in 1949 on the Mapai list, he was prominent as chairman of economic committees. Re-elected in 1951, he became Minister without Portfolio in the reconstituted coalition, with charge of economic co-ordination. This function led in 1952 to chairmanship of the Economic Advisory Council, and in June 1952, on the reorganisation of the Government, he became Minister of Agriculture. He was re-elected to the Knesset in July 1955 and in November was appointed Minister without Portfolio. Long a member of the Histadrut Executive he succeeded Dr. Josephthal as Treasurer of the Jewish Agency in October 1956.

Dr. Naphtali is one of Israel's leading Socialist economists.

83. Nissim, Itzhak

Chief Rabbi of the Sephardim.
Born 1896 in Iraq, where he had his religious education. Came to Palestine in 1926. He was comparatively obscure until elected to his present position in February 1955, after bitter wrangling in the religious community. Although he looks like something out of Noah's Ark, he takes an active interest in politics and is apt to browbeat visiting diplomats for not moving their missions to Jerusalem.

84. Nurock, Mordecai (Max)

Minister to Australia and New Zealand.
Born in Dublin in 1893 and educated at Trinity College, Dublin. Served in the British Army from 1915-19 and came to Palestine in 1919 as secretary to the Zionist Commission. In 1920 he joined the Colonial Administrative Service and served in it in Palestine from 1920-36, beginning as Assistant Private Secretary to the High Commissioner and later becoming Acting Chief Secretary in the Palestine Administration and Secretary to the Customs Tariff Board. From 1936-45 he served in Uganda in several capacities including those of Deputy Governor of Uganda and Uganda member of the East African Defence Council. From 1945-47 he served as Financial Adviser in the local government and internal communications division of the Control Commission for Germany, and subsequently as Deputy Director of the Division. From 1947-49 he was Civil Establishment Officer in the Allied Commission for Austria. In 1949 he came to Israel as adviser to the Government on Personal Affairs (1949-51) and Financial Secretary to the Hebrew University (1951-52). Mr. Nurock is married and has two married daughters. Pleasant and amiable he is reported to be efficient and extremely hard working.

85. Nurok, Rabbi Mordecai

Hapoel Hamizrahi-Hamizrahi M.K.
Born in Latvia in 1884 and educated at religious schools and the University of St. Petersburg. Was a delegate to the Sixth Zionist Congress and to all Zionist Congresses from the Twelfth to the Twenty-Second. He was a member of the Latvian Parliament and was at one time Minister for Jewish Affairs in the Latvian Government. A war-time refugee, his entire family were wiped out by the Nazis in Riga. He was later active in organising illegal immigration from the USSR to Palestine by

way of Latvia and Danzig. He came to Palestine from Siberia in 1945.

In Israel Rabbi Nurok became a member of the Conservative Religious Mizrahi Party and was elected to the Knesset in 1949, where he took a prominent part in Inter-Parliamentary Union affairs. He was re-elected to the Second Knesset in 1951 and in November 1952 was appointed Minister of Posts and Telegraphs in the Coalition Government. In 1955 he was re-elected to the Knesset on the joint Hapoel Hamizrahi-Hamizrahi list.

Rabbi Nurok is a dignified and respected figure and is not afraid of taking an independent line. He is friendly but ponderous and speaks German and Russian but no English.

86. Olshan, Yitzhak

President of the Supreme Court.

Born in Lithuania in 1895. Came to Palestine in 1912. Served in the Jewish Legion of the British Army in the First World War. Educated at the London School of Economics. Took up private legal practice in 1927 after four years as liaison officer between Histadrut and the British Labour Party. Founder member of Haganah, in which he served until 1948. Became a Judge of the Supreme Court in the same year. A friendly and attractive person.

87. Onn, Zeev

Histadrut Leader.

Born Poland, 1900. Educated in a rabbinical college. Came to Israel in 1920 since when he has been active in the organisation and direction of co-operative enterprises. In 1949 he became a member of the Executive Bureau of the Histadrut and in the same year was appointed Secretary-General of Hevrat Ha'ovdim (the controlling body of the industrial and co-operative enterprises of the Histadrut). Also a member of the Central Committee of Mapai and of the Council of the Bank of Israel.

88. Pearlman, Moshe

The Prime Minister's Adviser on Information Services.

Born in London, 1911. Educated at the London School of Economics. Was a journalist in London, New York and Palestine from 1934 to 1938. In 1938 he became Public Relations Officer of the Jewish Agency in London. He served in the British Army from 1940 to 1946 and was demobilised as a major. In 1948 he was appointed director of the Foreign Press Division of the Public Information Office and in 1951 was made head of the Government Press Service, at the same time holding active rank as an officer of the Israel Army. Later he was for a time head of all Government information services, but gave up his direct executive responsibilities to become adviser to the Prime Minister on information, a new post.

Disconcertingly like Groucho Marx in appearance, Mr. Pearlman has established a reputation for minor eccentricities. His actions do not always fulfil the promise of his affable address, and it may be doubted whether he has wholly shed the anti-British sentiments voiced in his book on the Israel Army.

89. Peled, Aloof Mishne (Colonel) Matityahu

Commander, Jerusalem District.

Born in Haifa in 1923 and educated in Jerusalem. He joined the Haganah, and in 1942 the Palmach. From 1946 to the end of 1947 he studied at London University. In the War of Independence he was a company commander in the Givati Brigade and took part in the Negev fighting.

After the war he became a battalion commander. In 1952 he attended a course at the Staff College, Berley, which he enjoyed and received a good mark. Returning to Israel he became chief instructor at the newly-formed Israeli Staff College. He joined Training Branch at General Headquarters. In January 1957 he commanded the Israeli troops at Sharm-el-Sheikh. At the end of January 1957 he became Military Governor of the Strip, an appointment which was cut short by Israeli withdrawal. Received his present appointment in May 1957. He appears to be a smart and able man, if somewhat heavy footed in dealings with U.N.T.S.O.

Peres, Shimon

Director-General, Ministry of Defence.

Born in Poland in 1923 where he received his Hebrew education. Came to Palestine in the late 1930's and studied at an agricultural school. For a period at Harvard University he joined a cooperative settlement and did various kinds of party youth work for Mapai.

Joining the Ministry of Defence he rose rapidly among other things, headed a Defence Mission in the United States. He became Director-General of the Ministry of Defence in 1952 at the extraordinary early age of 29.

Mr. Peres is, together with Mr. Kollek and Mr. Dayan, one of Mr. Ben-Gurion's closest advisers. He is probably activist in inclination, more than almost any of his compatriots, is indispensable for Israel's intimate relations with the Arab world (who have awarded him the Legion of Honour). An important and rising figure he is expected to return to politics. He has, indeed, already been criticised for making political speeches to Mapai audiences. Unfortunately, like many of the powerful younger Israelis he employs his time and skill avoiding invitations.

Rabin, Aloof Yitzhak

Born in Palestine in 1922. Graduated from a Fine Arts Agricultural School. Served in Palmach in Syria under the British in World War II. Commanded a battalion in the War of Independence. Attended a course at the Staff College, Cambray, in 1953 and was reported as having a good command of English and having worked hard, but as having limited practical knowledge. He was appointed Head of the Military Command at the end of 1953, an appointment he retained until May 1956, when he was promoted to Commander, Northern Command. He seems a quiet, friendly man, but is shy and reserved in company.

Raphael, Gideon

Minister to Belgium and Luxembourg.

Born in 1919 at Shaltenberg. Little is known of him until January 1950, when he represented Israel at meetings of the Palestine Conciliation Commission in Geneva. In the same year he was sent to New York as Counsellor on the Israel Delegation to the United Nations, and attended the General Assembly as an alternate delegate. He attended the General Assembly again in 1951 and has also been present at meetings of the Security Council at various aspects of the Israel-Arab problem have been discussed. In 1953 he was appointed Counsellor at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the Middle East and United Nations Political Department. In 1956 he became Adviser on Special Questions, particularly those to do with the United Nations.

Raphael is the leading exponent of the policy of "direct talks" with the Arab States, and prides himself (probably mistakenly) on his intimate knowledge of the Arab mentality. He is Levantine in appearance, manner and attitude of mind, and suffers from the typical Israel failings of confusing ends and means, and thinking that a debating point scored is an advantage gained. Received his present appointments this summer.

93. Raphael, Itzhak

Member of the Jewish Agency Executive and Hapoel Hamizrahi-Hamizrahi M.K.

Born in 1914 at Sasow, Galicia. Educated at religious schools in Poland, the University of Lvov and the Hebrew University at Jerusalem. He was secretary of a religious workers' movement in Galicia and on coming to Palestine in 1935 became a member of the Va'ad Leumi and a leading member of the religious workers' party Hapoel Hamizrahi. He soon became a prominent figure in the World Zionist Organisation, becoming a director of the Jewish National Fund and from 1941-47 director of the Trade Department of the Jewish Agency and in 1948 a member of the Jewish Agency Executive. In the Palestine War he was a member of the Jerusalem Committee who ran Jerusalem throughout the siege. From 1949 onwards he was head of the Jewish Agency's Immigration Department and as such was primarily responsible for the organisation of the flow of Jewish immigrants to Israel. In 1951 he was elected to the Knesset on the Hapoel Hamizrahi's list and in the same year he became Hapoel Hamizrahi's representative on the Zionist Executive.

94. Rittin, Yaakov

Mapam M.K.

Born in Poland in 1901. High school education. Joined Hashomer Hatzair in Poland and came to Palestine in 1929. Worked as a farmer in several kibbutzim, was a delegate to several Zionist congresses and undertook numerous missions on behalf of the labour movement. Attended the 1947 United Nations General Assembly as a member of the Jewish Agency delegation. Elected a Mapam M.K. in 1949, he emerged as one of the leaders of the extreme Left-wing pro-Soviet wing of the party. He is a member of the Zionist Executive, the Mapam Central Committee, the Israel-U.S.S.R. Friendship League, the Kibbutz Artzi Executive and the Foreign Affairs and Security Committee of the Knesset. When the pro-Soviet Sneh group broke away from Mapam in January 1953, it was generally assumed that he would join them, but his ties with his kibbutz were too strong and he did not do so, being subsequently denounced by the group as a Titoist. He was, however, deprived by Mapam of his office as Political Secretary, though he remained a member of the party's central committee. Member of kibbutz Ein Shemer.

Mr. Rittin is a living example of the contradiction in Mapam between Stalinist ideals and devotion to Zionist and kibbutz life.

95. Rokach, Israel, C.B.E.

General Zionist M.K.

Born in 1896 at Jaffa. Educated at Technical Institutes of Lausanne and Zürich. Worked as electrical engineer in the United Kingdom and Palestine. Municipal Councillor, Tel Aviv, since 1922; Vice-Mayor, 1927; Mayor from 1936 to 1953. Former member of the War Economic Advisory Council (1943) and of the Citrus Control Board. A director of various cultural, political and economic

Was one of the leaders of the Social Democratic Party in Germany and of the Social Democrat Trade Unions. Represented German trade unions in the Reichs-Wirtschaftsrat. Joined the Poalei Zion. Came to Palestine in 1933 and became a lecturer at Haifa Institute of Technology and Tel Aviv. Became managing director of the Workers' Bank (1938-45) and a member of the Tel Aviv municipality (1939) and later economic adviser to the Prime Minister. Elected to the Knesset in 1949 on the Mapai list, he was prominent as chairman of economic committees. Re-elected in 1951, he became Minister without Portfolio in the reconstituted coalition, with charge of economic co-ordination. This function led in 1952 to chairmanship of the Economic Advisory Council, and in June 1952, on the reorganisation of the Government, he became Minister of Agriculture. He was re-elected to the Knesset in July 1955 and in November was appointed Minister without Portfolio. Long a member of the Histadrut Executive he succeeded Dr. Josephthal as Treasurer of the Jewish Agency in October 1956.

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Born in Latvia in 1884 and educated at religious schools and the University of St. Petersburg. Was a delegate to the Sixth Zionist Congress and to all Zionist Congresses from the Twelfth to the Twenty-Second. He was a member of the Latvian Parliament and was at one time Minister for Jewish Affairs in the Latvian Government. A war-time refugee, his entire family were wiped out by the Nazis in Riga. He was later active in organising illegal immigration from the USSR to Palestine by

way of Latvia and Danzig. He came to Palestine from Siberia in 1945.

In Israel Rabbi Nurok became a member of Conservative Religious Mizrahi Party and elected to the Knesset in 1949, where he took prominent part in Inter-Parliamentary Union affairs. He was re-elected to the Second Knesset in 1951 in November 1952 was appointed Minister of Posts and Telegraphs in the Coalition Government. 1955 he was re-elected to the Knesset on the Hapoel Hamizrahi-Hamizrahi list.

Rabbi Nurok is a dignified and respected figure and is not afraid of taking an independent line. He is friendly but ponderous and speaks German Russian but no English.

86. Olshan, Yitzhak

President of the Supreme Court.

Born in Lithuania in 1895. Came to Palestine in 1912. Served in the Jewish Legion of the British Army in the First World War. Educated at London School of Economics. Took up private legal practice in 1927 after four years as liaison officer between Histadrut and the British Labour Party. Founder member of Haganah, in which served until 1948. Became a Judge of the Supreme Court in the same year. A friendly and attractive person.

87. Onn, Zeev

Histadrut Leader.

Born Poland, 1900. Educated in a rabbinical college. Came to Israel in 1920 since when he has been active in the organisation and direction of co-operative enterprises. In 1949 he became member of the Executive Bureau of the Histadrut and in the same year was appointed Secret General of Hevrat Ha'ovdim (the controlling body of the industrial and co-operative enterprises of Histadrut). Also a member of the Central Committee of Mapai and of the Council of the Bnei Israel.

88. Pearlman, Moshe

The Prime Minister's Adviser on Information Services.

Born in London, 1911. Educated at the London School of Economics. Was a journalist in London, New York and Palestine from 1934 to 1938. In 1938 he became Public Relations Officer of the Jewish Agency in London. He served in the British Army from 1940 to 1946 and was demobilised as a major. In 1948 he was appointed director of the Foreign Press Division of the Public Information Office. In 1951 was made head of the Government Press Service, at the same time holding active rank as an officer of the Israel Army. Later he was for a time head of all Government information services but gave up his direct executive responsibilities to become adviser to the Prime Minister on information and a new post.

Disconcertingly like Groucho Marx in appearance Mr. Pearlman has established a reputation for many eccentricities. His actions do not always fulfil the promise of his affable address, and it may be doubtful whether he has wholly shed the anti-British sentiments voiced in his book on the Israel Army.

89. Peled, Aloof Mishne (Colonel) Matityahu

Commander, Jerusalem District.

Born in Haifa in 1923 and educated in Jerusalem. He joined the Haganah, and in 1942 the Palmach. From 1946 to the end of 1947 he studied at London University. In the War of Independence he was a company commander in the Givati Brigade and took part in the Negev fighting.

After the war he became a battalion commander and in 1952 he attended a course at the Staff College, Camberley, which he enjoyed and received a good report. Returning to Israel he became chief instructor at the newly-formed Israeli Staff College. Later he joined Training Branch at General Headquarters. In January 1957 he commanded the Israeli troops at Sharm-el-Sheikh. At the end of February 1957 he became Military Governor of the Gaza Strip, an appointment which was cut short by the Israeli withdrawal. Received his present appointment in May 1957. He appears to be a pleasant and able man, if somewhat heavy footed in his dealings with U.N.T.S.O.

90. Peres, Shimon

Director-General, Ministry of Defence.

Born in Poland in 1923 where he received his early Hebrew education. Came to Palestine in the middle 1930's and studied at an agricultural school. After a period at Harvard University he joined a collective settlement and did various kinds of party and youth work for Mapai.

Joining the Ministry of Defence he rose rapidly and, among other things, headed a Defence Mission to the United States. He became Director-General in 1952 at the extraordinary early age of 29.

Mr. Peres is, together with Mr. Kollek and General Dayan, one of Mr. Ben-Gurion's closest advisers. He is probably activist in inclination. He, more than almost any of his compatriots, is responsible for Israel's intimate relations with the French (who have awarded him the Legion d'Honneur). An important and rising figure he might one day return to politics. He has, indeed, recently been criticised for making political speeches to Mapai audiences. Unfortunately, like many other of the powerful younger Israelis he employs much time and skill avoiding invitations.

91. Rabin, Aloof Yitzhak

Born in Palestine in 1922. Graduated from a Palestine Agricultural School. Served in Palmach units in Syria under the British in World War II. Commanded a battalion in the War of Independence. He attended a course at the Staff College, Camberley, in 1953 and was reported as having a good brain and having worked hard, but as having limited tactical knowledge. He was appointed Head of Training Command at the end of 1953, an appointment he retained until May 1956, when he was appointed Commander, Northern Command.

He seems a quiet, friendly man, but is shy and awkward in company.

92. Raphael, Gideon

Minister to Belgium and Luxembourg.

Born in 1919 at Shaltenberg. Little is known of him until January 1950, when he represented Israel at meetings of the Palestine Conciliation Commission in Geneva. In the same year he was sent to New York as Counsellor on the Israel Delegation to the United Nations, and attended the General Assembly as an alternate delegate. He attended the General Assembly again in 1951 and has also been present at meetings of the Security Council at which various aspects of the Israel-Arab problem have been discussed. In 1953 he was appointed Counsellor at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in charge of Middle East and United Nations Political Affairs. In 1956 he became Adviser on Special Political Questions, particularly those to do with the United Nations.

Raphael is the leading exponent of the policy of "direct talks" with the Arab States, and prides himself (probably mistakenly) on his intimate knowledge of the Arab mentality. He is Levantine in appearance, manner and attitude of mind, and suffers from the typical Israel failings of confusing ends and means, and thinking that a debating point scored is an advantage gained. Received his present appointments this summer.

93. Raphael, Itzhak

Member of the Jewish Agency Executive and Hapoel Hamizrahi-Hamizrahi M.K.

Born in 1914 at Sasow, Galicia. Educated at religious schools in Poland, the University of Lvov and the Hebrew University at Jerusalem. He was secretary of a religious workers' movement in Galicia and on coming to Palestine in 1935 became a member of the Va'ad Leumi and a leading member of the religious workers' party Hapoel Hamizrahi. He soon became a prominent figure in the World Zionist Organisation, becoming a director of the Jewish National Fund and from 1941-47 director of the Trade Department of the Jewish Agency and in 1948 a member of the Jewish Agency Executive. In the Palestine War he was a member of the Jerusalem Committee who ran Jerusalem throughout the siege. From 1949 onwards he was head of the Jewish Agency's Immigration Department and as such was primarily responsible for the organisation of the flow of Jewish immigrants to Israel. In 1951 he was elected to the Knesset on the Hapoel Hamizrahi's list and in the same year he became Hapoel Hamizrahi's representative on the Zionist Executive.

94. Rittin, Yaakov

Mapam M.K.

Born in Poland in 1901. High school education. Joined Hashomer Hatzair in Poland and came to Palestine in 1929. Worked as a farmer in several kibbutzim, was a delegate to several Zionist congresses and undertook numerous missions on behalf of the labour movement. Attended the 1947 United Nations General Assembly as a member of the Jewish Agency delegation. Elected a Mapam M.K. in 1949, he emerged as one of the leaders of the extreme Left-wing pro-Soviet wing of the party. He is a member of the Zionist Executive, the Mapam Central Committee, the Israel-U.S.S.R. Friendship League, the Kibbutz Artzi Executive and the Foreign Affairs and Security Committee of the Knesset. When the pro-Soviet Sneh group broke away from Mapam in January 1953, it was generally assumed that he would join them, but his ties with his kibbutz were too strong and he did not do so, being subsequently denounced by the group as a Titoist. He was, however, deprived by Mapam of his office as Political Secretary, though he remained a member of the party's central committee. Member of kibbutz Ein Shemer.

Mr. Rittin is a living example of the contradiction in Mapam between Stalinist ideals and devotion to Zionist and kibbutz life.

95. Rokach, Israel, C.B.E.

General Zionist M.K.

Born in 1896 at Jaffa. Educated at Technical Institutes of Lausanne and Zürich. Worked as electrical engineer in the United Kingdom and Palestine. Municipal Councillor, Tel Aviv, since 1922; Vice-Mayor, 1927; Mayor from 1936 to 1953. Former member of the War Economic Advisory Council (1943) and of the Citrus Control Board. A director of various cultural, political and economic

enterprises. Elected General Zionist M.K., 1949, and re-elected to Second Knesset, 1951.

When the General Zionists entered Mr. Ben-Gurion's Coalition Government in December 1952, he became Minister of Interior, subsequently resigning (with every sign of reluctance) as Mayor of Tel Aviv. He remained Minister of the Interior in the coalition formed by Mr. Sharett in January 1954 but relinquished the post in 1955 when the General Zionists withdrew from the Government.

Mr. Rokach is a powerful personality but he has lost ground in his party in the past year. He is a tough and none too scrupulous politician and, though energetic, seems lacking in commonsense. He and Mr. Ben-Gurion have hated each other for years. He is well-disposed towards the United Kingdom and is agreeable but rather self-important. Married.

96. Rokach, Isaac

Chairman of the Pardess Syndicate (Citrus Growers) and leading member of the Citrus Marketing Board and head of the Consolidated Maritime Agency, who are agents in Israel for the British Conference Lines.

Born near Tel Aviv in 1894. Educated in Palestine and at a school of commerce in Lausanne. Has since been in business and in farming. He served in the Turkish Army in the war of 1914-18.

Mr. Rokach is brother of Israel Rokach, and is an influential figure. At present he is Chairman of the Franco-Israel Association.

97. Rosen, Pinhas-Felix

Leader of Progressive Party and Minister of Justice.

Born in 1887 in Berlin. Studied law at Universities of Freiburg and Berlin. Leader of Zionist youth organisations in Germany. Served six years in the German Army, including the First World War. President of the Zionist Federation of Germany, 1920-23. Spent 1923-25 in Palestine. Returned to Germany 1925. In London, 1926-31, as member of the World Zionist Executive in charge of its Organisation Department. Settled in Palestine, 1931; in private legal practice there, 1932-48. Municipal Councillor, Tel Aviv, since 1935. One of the founders (1941) of the Aliya Hadasha Party (new immigrants, mostly from Germany and Central Europe) and its President. Member of the Elected Assembly, 1944. 1948, member of the Provisional Council of State and Minister of Justice in the Provisional Government. In September 1948 the bulk of his party merged with a section of the General Zionists to form the Progressive Party, under his leadership. Elected M.K., 1949, and resumed the portfolio of Justice. In the Government crisis of October 1950 he tried unsuccessfully to form a Cabinet. After the 1951 elections he left the Government when his party refused to rejoin the coalition without the General Zionists. In 1952 he was again offered the Ministry of Justice on a "personal" basis, but refused it. On the formation of a new Coalition Government in December 1952, however, in which the General Zionists and Progressives were included with Mapai, he accepted the Ministry of Justice. After the refusal of the Progressive Party to join Mr. Sharett's coalition in January 1954, he resigned as Minister of Justice. He returned to the Ministry shortly afterwards when the Progressives reconsidered their stand. He retained the same post in the new coalition formed by Mr. Ben-Gurion in November 1955.

Mr. Rosen is a sound lawyer, specialising in company law, but he suffers from a certain germanic

pedantry and heaviness. In political outlook he is a moderate liberal, and is well-disposed to the United Kingdom. He is generally respected.

98. Rosetti, Maurice

Clerk of the Knesset.

Born in London in 1903. Educated at London University, and the University of Wales. He became chief cost clerk of the Stepney Municipality and was active in Jewish and trade union affairs. He stood unsuccessfully for Parliament. In due course he became head of the Information Department and parliamentary agent of the Jewish Agency in London, a member of the board of deputies of British Jews, chairman of the Political Committee of Poale Zion in England and secretary of the Jewish National Board for Great Britain. He settled in Israel in 1949 and became clerk of the Knesset. In 1950 he accompanied the Israel Parliamentary Delegation to the United Kingdom.

Mr. Rosetti's knowledge of British political life and methods is varied and extensive. He is pleasant and intelligent and well informed on parliamentary and constitutional matters. Mr. Mikardo, M.P., is married to his sister.

99. Sahar, Yehezkel

Inspector-General of Police.

Born in 1907 at Jerusalem. Studied at the High School of Commerce, Tel Aviv. Worked for several years in the Anglo-Palestine Bank. In 1933 studied at the London School of Economics and while there was private secretary to Dr. Weizmann, 1940, on a Zionist mission to the United States. 1941, enlisted and served with the Eighth Army in the Western Desert as commander of a Palestine R.A.S.C. Company. Discharged as major after serving in Austria. He subsequently acted as liaison officer between the Jewish Agency and British Headquarters in Palestine. A veteran of the Haganah, he became Inspector-General of Police and Director-General of the Ministry of Police at the foundation of the State. In January 1950 his rank was made equivalent to that of Chief of Staff (rav-alooft).

Mr. Sahar, though critical of British handling of security in the mandatory period, is friendly and intelligent and aims at maintaining British traditions in the Israel Police Force. In 1949 he spent several weeks in the United Kingdom, France and the United States studying police organisations and methods. On his return his enthusiasm for Scotland Yard was almost unbounded. Some serious doubts about his integrity have arisen out of Mr. Amos Ben Gurion's libel case and some responsible circles are calling for his resignation as a result.

100. Saphir, Yosef

General Zionist M.K.

Born in Jaffa in 1902, educated in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem and became a farmer and citrus grower, joining the Executive of the Farmers' Federation in 1938. In 1939 he became the managing director of the Pardess Syndicate, one of the largest citrus-growing co-operatives. A year later he became Mayor of Petah Tiqva, a post he held until 1951, becoming chairman of the Home Affairs Committee. When in 1952 the General Zionists entered the Government he was appointed Minister of Health but on his return from abroad he insisted on being given the Ministry of Communications and exchanged portfolios with Mr. Serlin. He relinquished the post in 1955 when the General Zionists left the Government. He is a man of considerable determination and organising ability and seems well-disposed to the United Kingdom. He became the effective No. 2 of his party at its 1957 conference. He is married and has two daughters.

101. Sapir, Pinhas

Minister of Commerce and Industry.

Born in Poland in 1909. First came to Palestine in 1930. In 1949 he was appointed Director-General of the Ministry of Defence and visited the United States in 1951 on an arms-purchasing mission. In December 1951 he assumed responsibility for the development of the Negev and in the same month was appointed a director of the Dead Sea Potash Company. In July 1953 he was appointed Director-General of the Ministry of Finance. Shortly after the General Election in July 1955 it was rumoured that he would be resigning from his post in the Ministry of Finance and spending one year studying in the United Kingdom. He, nevertheless, accepted nomination as Minister of Commerce and Industry in Mr. Ben-Gurion's Coalition Government, although he is not a member of the Knesset.

Mr. Sapir has shown himself, first at the Ministry of Finance and now at the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, to be a man of drive and square dealing and has gained the respect of private enterprise as a result. Ambitious for the economic development of his country he appears, nevertheless, to have a fair grasp of realities.

102. Sasson, Eliahu

Ambassador to Italy.

Born before 1898 at Aleppo. Brought up in Syria and studied in Turkey. At one time he was a teacher in the French-Jewish School of the Alliance Israélite at Damascus. Active at first in the Syrian nationalist movement, he later devoted himself entirely to Zionism and became (about 1936) head of the Arab Section of the Jewish Agency's Political Department in Jerusalem. Head of the Middle East Division, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1948. Took a leading part in the armistice negotiations at Rhodes and headed the Israel delegation to the Conciliation Commission in Lausanne (1949) with the rank of Minister. At the end of 1949 he was appointed first Israel Minister to Turkey. In 1952 he was transferred to Rome.

Mr. Sasson speaks perfect Arabic. While working for the Jewish Agency he established the reputation of being not only a connoisseur of Middle East affairs but also *persona grata* with many leading Arab politicians. He is one of the few Sephardic Jews in the Israeli Foreign Service.

103. Schocken, Gustav Gershon

Progressive M.K. and newspaper editor.

Born in 1912 at Zwickau (Saxony) where his father owned a chain store network. Educated at Universities of Heidelberg and London (Social Science). In Palestine since 1933. His family founded Schocken Verlag in Berlin (1931-39) and he is director of its Palestine branch (Schocken Publishing House, Ltd.). In 1937 he and his father took over publication of the principal Hebrew paper of the country, the independent *Ha'aretz*, which he has since edited. In 1955 he was elected to the Knesset on the Progressive list, but announced that the political independence of *Ha'aretz* would be unaffected.

Mr. Schocken speaks fluent English. He has a cosmopolitan outlook in contrast to the somewhat limited horizon of many of his journalist colleagues. Visited United Kingdom officially in 1950.

104. Serlin, Yosef

Chairman of General Zionist Party and M.K.

Born in Bialystok in 1906 and educated at Lvov and Warsaw University. He became a lawyer and in 1930, private secretary to the prominent Zionist, Nahum Sokolov. He came to Palestine in 1933 as an active Zionist, establishing himself in the practice of law and commercial enterprise and becoming chairman of the political committee of the Karen

Hayesod, deputy chairman of the World Union of General Zionists and a member of the Council of the World Zionist Organisation. In 1949 he was elected to the Knesset on the General Zionist list and in 1950 he visited England with the Israel Parliamentary delegation. He was re-elected to the second Knesset in 1951 and became one of the deputy speakers. When the General Zionists entered the Government in 1952 he was appointed Minister of Communication but immediately afterwards had to relinquish this post to Mr. Sapir and take on the Ministry of Health. Following the withdrawal of the General Zionists from the Government in 1955 he relinquished his Ministerial post. He successfully challenged Mr. Bernstein for leadership of the party in July 1957. He is married and has two sons.

105. Shaltiel, Aloof (Brigadier) David

Minister at Mexico City and at seven other Central American capitals.

Born in 1903 in Germany. Served as an officer in the French Foreign Legion during the Riff War. Came to Palestine in 1924 and joined the Haganah. Went to Europe to obtain arms for it, was imprisoned by the Nazis and tortured by the Gestapo. Returned to Palestine in 1941 as an exchange prisoner, and received the underground Haganah appointment of Area Commander in Haifa and then (till February 1948) Chief of Intelligence. Commanded the Israel Brigade in Jerusalem throughout the siege of 1948 but was later removed, reportedly for failure to capture the whole city. In October 1948 he was in charge of the investigation of the activities of dissident military groups. He then visited Czechoslovakia and several South American States, and on return was appointed Inspector-General of the Army. He relinquished the post on becoming Commander of the Frontier Force in November 1949 but was found too independent and unorthodox for the latter and removed in April 1950 on being appointed Military Attaché for France and Benelux countries, with residence at Paris. Served for a time as Minister to Brazil and Venezuela. Is now Minister to Cuba, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua and the Dominican Republic as well as Mexico. Friendly and entertaining with a charming wife.

106. Shapira, Moshe

Minister at Mexico City and at seven other Central

Born in 1899 at Grodno (Poland). Son of a rabbi, he was educated at the Rabbinical Seminary, Grodno, worked for a time in the Ministry of Jewish Affairs, Lithuania, and in 1924-25 studied in the Berlin Rabbinical Seminary. An active Zionist from early youth and a founder of the Religious Workers' Party (Hapoel Hamizrabi). Represented it at World Zionist Congresses since 1923 and became its outstanding leader and chairman in Palestine, where he settled in 1925. Member of the Zionist General Council since 1927. Elected alternate member of the Jewish Agency Executive in 1935 and since then associated with its Immigration Department. Full member of the Executive, 1945-48. Represented Hapoel Hamizrabi in the Provisional Council of State, 1948, and was Minister of Immigration and Health in the Provisional Government. Negotiated a merger (the Religious bloc) with the Mizrahi and Agudist Parties for the elections of 1949 and was returned as M.K. In the new Government he continued as Minister of Immigration and of Health and also became Minister of the Interior. Relations between him and his Mapai colleagues broke down early in 1951, but after the elections he retained the Ministry of Interior in the new coalition, relinquishing the Ministries of Health and Immigration but assuming that of Religious Affairs as a new responsibility. On the entry of the General Zionists into

the coalition in December 1952, he relinquished the Ministry of Interior but retained that of Religious Affairs and in addition took on the Social Welfare portfolio. He was re-elected in 1955 and continues to hold both portfolios.

For over twenty years he has struggled to avoid a split in Hapoel Hamizrachi over the question of whether it should join the Histadrut—a course to which he is opposed. He is said to devote all his spare time to Talmudic study.

107. Sharett, Moshe

Mapai M.K. Former Minister for Foreign Affairs. Born in 1894 at Kherson (Ukraine). Emigrated to Palestine with his parents, 1906. Educated at Herzliya Gymnasium, Tel Aviv. Studied law at Istanbul University (1913-14). 1915-18, served as Turkish Army officer (interpreter attached to German liaison staff). 1918-20, on the staff of the Zionist Commission, Jerusalem, and active in the Hitachdut (United Labour) movement. Spent 1920-25 in England, taking B.Sc. degree at London School of Economics and entering the English Executive of Paolei Zion, which he represented at British Labour Party conference. 1925-31, on the editorial staff of the Histadrut organ *Davar*, of which he also produced a weekly edition in English. Joined Mapai on its foundation, 1930, and was later elected to its Executive. 1931-33, private secretary to Arlosoroff, Head of the Jewish Agency Political Department, succeeded him as its Head in 1933 and retained the position, with membership of the Executive, till 1948. In this capacity, was the Agency's main channel of contact with the Government of Palestine and went on numerous missions abroad. During the Second World War was head of the Jewish Agency's Recruiting Department and active in promoting the formation of the Jewish Brigade group. Was one of the Jewish leaders interned at Latrun, 1946. Reappointed head of the Political Department by the Zionist Congress of December 1946, but with orders to head it from Washington, he was throughout 1947 the Agency's principal delegate to the United Nations Organisation. In 1948 he became member of the Provisional Council of State and Minister for Foreign Affairs in the Provisional Government, and was later obliged to resign from the Jewish Agency Executive. Elected M.K. (No. 2 on the Mapai list) in 1949 and again in 1951, he continued as Minister for Foreign Affairs. He acted as Prime Minister when Mr. Ben-Gurion and Mr. Kaplan were away in 1951, and visited the United Kingdom in 1952. In January 1954 he succeeded Mr. Ben-Gurion as Prime Minister, retaining at the same time the office of Foreign Minister. In the new Coalition Government formed by Mr. Ben-Gurion in November 1955, he continued as Foreign Minister. He reluctantly resigned this post and left the Cabinet in June 1956 after personal disagreements with Mr. Ben-Gurion. Apart from a goodwill tour in Asia (during the Sinai campaign) and Australasia he has had a quiet year. His political future is still in doubt, but if his health improves he may make a come back, but it is unlikely that he would ever again take office under Mr. Ben-Gurion.

Mr. Sharett is an agreeable individual, a remarkable linguist, a voluble talker, and a very quick worker. He is identified with a policy of reasonableness in the handling of foreign affairs in contrast to the more ruthless approach and single-mindedness of Mr. Ben-Gurion. During his term as Prime Minister he considerably increased his reputation in the country and within his own party. He skilfully held together a turbulent coalition and largely succeeded in restraining the more excitable elements within his party. One of the few Israelis with any true understanding of the Arabs.

108. Shenkar, Arie Leib

President, Manufacturers' Association. President, Anglo-Israel Chamber of Commerce. Born in 1877 in Kiev Province, Ukraine. Was a textile manufacturer in Moscow for many years. In 1908 he came to Palestine and purchased land for members of a group of which he was treasurer and vice-president. Returning again in 1924 he founded the Lodzia Textile Company, of which he is owner and managing director, and the Industrial Bank of Palestine, of which he is chairman. President of the Manufacturers' Association since its foundation in 1925. Chairman of the Industrial Credit Council of the Palestine Corporation (London) and a director of the Tel Aviv Development Company.

He is not happy in the modern world of controlled economy and has made vigorous public attacks on the policy of the Government. Despite the gradual loss of his powers he refuses to delegate his important responsibilities; the Manufacturers' Association, and hence the interests of private business, suffer in consequence. He does not speak English.

109. Shiloah, Reuven

Political Adviser to the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Born in 1909 at Jerusalem. One of a family of five. His father is a Jerusalem Rabbi. Educated at the Hebrew University and the Teachers' Seminary, Jerusalem. Specialised in Arabic studies and has travelled extensively in the Middle East. Early connected with the Haganah; organiser of its Arab intelligence service. Taught Arabic in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv and from 1935 to 1937 was a teacher at the Alliance School at Bagdad. Visited Kurdistan in 1932. In 1932 he was editor of the Arab section of the *Palestine Post*. Friend of Arlosoroff, who interested him in the Socialist youth movement. As assistant political secretary, Histadrut Executive, in charge of Arab affairs (1932-36), he helped to found the Arab Association of Palestine Workers. During the riots of 1936 he was lent by the Histadrut to the Jewish Agency's Political Department and remained in it till 1948. He became head of the Intelligence Section of the Haganah and was for many years liaison officer between the Political Department and British military authorities, including General Wingate. Member of the Jewish Delegation at the Round Table Conference in London (1939). During the World War, as Jewish liaison officer, he assisted the Allies in planning operations behind the enemy lines in neighbouring Arab States and Europe. Went to San Francisco in 1945 as a Jewish Agency delegate to the United Nations Conference and remained in America and Europe for over a year, including a special Haganah mission in the United States and service in the Jewish Agency office in London (1946), and as Mr. Ben-Gurion's secretary while in Paris. On the establishment of the State of Israel he became "Special Adviser" in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, holding the third place in its hierarchy. Took a leading part in discussions with the Conciliation Commission at Lausanne (1949) and in secret negotiations with Jordan (1949-51). Was a member of the Israel delegation to the General Assembly of the United Nations, 1950. He was appointed Minister to the Israel Embassy in Washington in August 1953.

Mr. Shiloah is a serious and sinister-looking individual with a scar across his rather Asiatic features, acquired in the bombing of the Jewish Agency. He improves on closer acquaintance. He is able but probably unscrupulous where his country's interests are concerned. He was responsible for Israel's intelligence services from 1948-52 and served as Minister to Washington from 1953 to mid-1957. His wife is American.

110. Shinnar, Pinhas E.

Head of Israel Purchasing Mission at Cologne. Born in Stuttgart in 1905 and educated at high school there and at the Universities of Heidelberg, Tuebingen and Frankfurt. Was manager of a trust company in Germany and official receiver at a Magistrates' Court in Berlin before coming to Palestine in 1934. Since coming to Israel he has held many important posts in the economic and commercial world. He has been a director of investment companies and of the leading Hebrew newspaper, *Ha'aretz*, and Controller of Fuel at the Ministry of Finance, and he was for some time Director of the Department for "Imports without Payment." He was also for some time Economic Counsellor at the Israel Legation in London. On his return to Israel in 1951 he became Adviser to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on German Affairs and a director of the Israel Petroleum Distribution Company. He was put in charge of the negotiations for a Reparations Agreement with Germany in 1952 and carried the negotiations through to a successful conclusion. In April 1953, he was appointed head of the Israel Purchasing Commission in Germany with the personal rank of Minister, and was put in charge of all purchases made under the Reparations Agreement. Before accepting this post he insisted on being given wide powers and considerable discretion.

111. Shitreet, Behor Shalom

Minister of Police.

Born in 1895 at Tiberias of an old-established Arabic-speaking family. Educated at the "Alliance Israélite" School and Rabbinical College, Tiberias, and later (1926-30) at the Law Classes, Jerusalem. Though a Sephardi, he joined the Zionist Movement in 1910. Started as a teacher of French, Hebrew and Arabic and later worked in his father's business. In 1919 he joined the Police Force under British military administration and subsequently made a career in the Department of Police and Prisons of the Government of Palestine, specialising in criminal investigation. 1927, Assistant Superintendent of Police, Tel Aviv. Instructor (1928) and head (1931) of the Police School in Jerusalem. Left the Police in 1935 to become Magistrate sitting in Jaffa, Tel Aviv, Haifa and other courts. Chief Magistrate, Tel Aviv, 1945; Senior Magistrate, 1947. From 1942 onwards he helped to organise the Sephardim in defence of their rights in the Jewish community and later became chairman of the Sephardic Committee formed for this purpose. As such he entered the Provisional Council of State, 1948, and became Minister of Police and of Minorities in the Provisional Government. Later in the year he pledged his support for a "Popular Party," but as it did not materialise, he headed in 1949 the list of the "Union of Sephardic and Levantine Communities" of which he and three others were elected members of the Knesset. In the new Government he carried on with the same two portfolios, but that of Minorities was abolished in June 1949. In 1951, following the disintegration of the Sephardim movement, he was included in the Mapai list for the elections. He led the Israel delegation to the international conference of Sephardic Jews in Paris in 1951 and is a vice-president of the World Federation of Sephardic Communities. He was re-elected to the Knesset in 1955 and continued as Minister of Police in the coalition formed in November of that year by Mr. Ben-Gurion.

Mr. Shitreet is a leisurely and expansive oriental who is as much at home with Arabs as with Jews. Though he has little education and no European experience, he was a competent magistrate, courageous, hard-working and with a reputation for honesty. He appears to be keen on maintaining British traditions in the Israel Police Force.

112. Sieff, Rebecca

World President, Women's International Zionist Organisation (W.I.Z.O.).

Educated at Manchester University. In 1920, in collaboration with Mrs. Weizmann, she founded and became first President of the London branch of W.I.Z.O. After holding various high offices in the Organisation in the United Kingdom, she was elected World President in 1949. She has since travelled widely on behalf of the Organisation, and devotes her time almost entirely to it.

Mrs. Sieff, who is the wife of Israel Sieff and the sister of Sir Simon Marks, has made Israel her home and is now a distinctive feature of the Israel landscape; she appears to regard herself as equally British and Israeli. A forceful personality, she is now losing her grip but is still carried along by the momentum of many years of public and social activity. When in Israel she entertains extensively at her attractive English-style home at Tel Mond, though she has stayed there less often since one of her servants was killed by fedayeen in an attack on the estate in December 1956.

113. Sneh, Dr. Moshe

Communist M.K.

Born in 1899 at Radzyn (Poland). Graduated in medicine at Warsaw University (M.D.) but took up journalism and politics, becoming chairman of the Zionist Students' Organisation and later leader of the General Zionist Organisation in Poland. A delegate to Zionist Congresses from 1933, he was elected member of the Zionist Actions Committee in 1935. In 1939 he served as captain in the Polish Army, was taken prisoner by the Russians, escaped and reached Palestine via France in 1940. From 1940 to 1946 he served on the staff of the Haganah underground forces, becoming Chief of Staff by 1944, and engaged in organising illegal immigration. He was also active in politics in the "A" Group of General Zionists. In 1945-46 he took a leading part in bringing together the General Zionists "A" and "B" (Left and Right wings) and for a short time presided over the united party. In 1945 he also entered the Jewish Agency Executive and acted as its Ambassador-at-Large in Europe.

During this period Dr. Sneh adopted a pro-Soviet orientation and at the end of 1947, having quarrelled with the General Zionist Party and the Jewish Agency, he resigned from both and took a leading part in founding the leftist United Labour Party (Mapam). Though, unlike other participants, he brought with him no organised body, he became a member of the Mapam Central Committee and of the editorial board of the party's newspaper, *Al Hamishmar*. In July 1948 he attended the World Jewish Congress and sided with the East European delegates who tried to give it a pro-Soviet bias. Elected Mapam M.K. in 1949, he led the extreme Left wing of the party and in 1949-50 was influential in preventing it from joining Mapai in the Government coalition. He became the leading spirit in the Israel branch of the Soviet-sponsored "Peace Movement" and secretary of the League for Friendship with the USSR. Re-elected to the Second Knesset in 1951. In January 1953, he and his supporters broke away from Mapam and formed the "Left Faction," an extreme pro-Soviet group collaborating closely with the Communist Party. In October 1954, the "Faction" disbanded and Sneh formally joined the Communist Party, securing election to the Third Knesset in 1955 on the Communist list.

Dr. Sneh is a good speaker and a clever and ambitious man; certainly a rising star in the Knesset. However, his political opponents deeply distrust him, as well they may; he is a dangerous man. He has recently become editor of *Kol Haam*, the party newspaper, and a member of the Politburo.

114. Sprinzak, Joseph

Speaker of the Knesset.

Born in 1886 in Russia. University studies in Russia and Switzerland. Came to Palestine in 1909, already a Zionist-Socialist, and entered the labour movement becoming a leading member of Mapai. Repeatedly represented the Histadrut, of which he was one of the founders, at Zionist congresses; is chairman of the Zionist General Council Presidium. For many years member of the Histadrut Executive, he was its secretary-general from 1935 to 1949. On the board of directors of the Jewish National Fund, Foundation Fund and various other institutions. Was member of the Elected Assembly and Va'ad Leumi Executive. In August 1948 he entered the Provisional Council of State (replacing Mrs. Meir) and soon after was elected its chairman. Elected Deputy (fifth on the Mapai list) in 1949 and president (Speaker) of the Knesset, he relinquished the general secretariat of the Histadrut in July. During Dr. Weizmann's absences abroad in 1949 and 1950 he acted as President of Israel and in 1951 became acting President for the duration of Dr. Weizmann's illness. Re-elected Speaker of the Second and Third Knessets in 1951 and 1955 respectively.

Mr. Sprinzak is a good chairman with a strong sense of humour and is generally liked and respected in the Knesset, but in his conduct of parliamentary procedure he frequently shows bias in favour of Mapai and the Government coalition. A small man with a large drooping moustache, he cuts a slightly comical figure. A prominent sponsor of cultural and educational institutions. Speaks some English and is very friendly. A close friend of Mr. Ben-Gurion.

115. Tankus (or Tana), Aloof Shmuel

Commodore, Israel Navy.

Born in Palestine in 1914. Nothing is known of him until, in 1954, he was appointed Commander (later Commodore) of the Israel Navy.

Tankus is a quiet, awkward and shy man who makes no particular impression on first acquaintance. While never very talkative he becomes quite human when he gets to know people. His naval experience and knowledge is strictly limited, though his efficiency may be more than appears at first sight. Seemingly not a strong personality, he may owe his important position to good Mapai connections.

116. Tekoah, Joseph

Director of Armistice Affairs Division, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Born in Poland in 1925. Educated at the Université l'Aurore in China and Harvard University. Served on the Israel Delegation to the United Nations in New York and Paris in 1948. Settled in Israel in 1949 when he became Deputy Legal Adviser at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In 1953 and 1954 he served as the Foreign Ministry Representative on the Mixed Armistice Commissions. In 1955 he became the chief representative of the Mixed Armistice Commissions when responsibility for the latter was transferred from the Ministry of Defence to the Foreign Ministry.

Tekoah has a dogmatic, doctrinaire mind which makes him a difficult and tiresome man with whom to do business, though he is not unfriendly. He works in closely with the Director-General, but it is said that he is really under the thumb of the Ministry of Defence. He is somewhat obsessed with his own importance.

117. Tolkowsky, Aloof Mishne (Colonel) Dan

Commander of the Air Force.

Born in Tel Aviv in 1921. Educated in England (B.Sc.). Joined the R.A.F. in 1942 and served as a fighter pilot in 238 Squadron in the Mediterranean

theatre from 1943-44. Released as a flight lieutenant in 1945. Joined the Israel Air Force in 1948 and played a leading part in planning operations in the Palestine War as a Deputy Director of Operations. In 1950 he was appointed Inspector-General, but in 1951 he retired. He was recalled shortly afterwards and appointed Deputy Air Officer Commanding, succeeding Aloof Laskov as Air Officer Commanding in May 1953. Aloof Mishne Tolkowsky, who is the son of a former Israel Minister to Switzerland, speaks Hebrew, French and perfect English and is the most highly educated and cultivated of the air force commanders, but beneath an easy Anglo-Saxon manner he is shrewd and as nationalistic as many of his colleagues.

118. Toubi, Tewfik

Communist M.K.

Born in 1922 at Haifa. A founder of the Arab Workers' Congress and one of the leaders of the Arab League for National Liberation, he followed the latter when in 1948 it merged with the (Jewish) Palestine Communist Party to form the united Israel Communist Party. Elected M.K. in 1949 (second on the Communist list) he has been very active in voicing Arab grievances before the Knesset, in the "Peace Movement" and in other forms of agitation. He has attended numerous Peace Conferences. Re-elected to the Second Knesset in 1951 and to the Third Knesset in 1955. He visited Moscow with Mikunis in 1952.

He is a Greek Orthodox Christian and is married to a Jewess. He is also alleged to be a former colleague of Haj Amin el Husseini.

119. Tsur, Yaacov

Ambassador to France.

Born at Wilna in 1906 and educated at Jerusalem and at the Universities of Florence and Paris. He came to Palestine in 1921 and in 1926 was employed by the Tel Aviv municipality. He joined the editorial board of *Ha'aretz* in 1929 and later worked in the headquarters of the Jewish National Fund. He was the Jewish Agency's representative in Egypt from 1943-45 and from 1947-48 was chairman of the Mobilisation Committee in Jerusalem. He went to the Argentine as Minister in June 1949. He speaks fluent English and Russian.

120. Wahrhaftig, Zerach

Hapoel Hamizrahi M.K.

Born in Warsaw in 1902. Educated at a Yeshiva and at Warsaw University. He was in private legal practice from 1933 to 1939 and lived in the United States before coming to Palestine in 1945. He was vice-president of Hapoel Hamizrahi, chairman of the Central Palestine Office from 1936 to 1939 and deputy director of the Institute of Jewish Affairs in New York from 1942 to 1947. From 1947 to 1948 was director of the Law Department of the Va'ad Leumi in Jerusalem. In 1948 became director of the Research Institute for Jewish Law at the Ministry of Justice. He was a member of the Provisional Government Council from 1947 to 1948, and was elected a M.K. in 1949 and in 1951, when he was appointed Deputy Minister for Religious Affairs, a post to which he was reappointed in December 1952. For a few months he was also Chairman of the Knesset Legislation Committee. He was re-elected to the Knesset in 1955.

He is a member of the Zionist General Council. In the Knesset he has considerable influence. He is an authority on a wide range of subjects, a Liberal, and a conscientious and earnest legislator. On religious matters he is less extreme than most members of the Orthodox parties.

121. Wilenska, Mrs. Esther

Communist M.K.

Born in Lithuania in 1918. Educated at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. Came to Palestine as an immigrant in 1933. Joined the Communist Party and became a member of its Central Committee. Meier Wilner, also a Communist Deputy, was her first husband. She was elected to the Political Committee of the Palestine Communist Party in 1945 and to its Central Committee in 1946. She became head of its propaganda office in Haifa in the same year. In July 1951 she was elected to the Knesset on the Communist list and was re-elected in 1955. She has been a municipal councillor at Tel Aviv since 1950. Associate editor of the Communist newspaper, *Kol Ha'am*.

She is certainly one the leading Communists in Israel and displays great activity. She is thought to be very able, but entirely humourless. A good rabble-rouser, she is regarded by the Israel authorities as a force to be reckoned with.

122. Wilner, Meier

Communist M.K.

Born in Poland in 1919. Educated at the Hebrew University. Came to Palestine as an immigrant in 1938. Was a member of the Provisional State Council. M.K. since 1949. He has made a series of violent speeches in the Knesset and elsewhere and is often on the verge of being suspended. An active member of the Peace Movement and a member of the Communist Party's Central Committee.

123. Wydra, Naphthali

Managing director of Israel Navigation Company, Limited.

Born in Leipzig in 1909. A doctor of law and an economist. During the period 1933-36, he was manager of the Haifa Shipping Agency. From 1936-47, he acted as manager of the Maritime Department of the Jewish Agency. He is at present director and manager of "Zim" Israel Navigation Company, Limited, and Shoham Sea Services, Limited, in which capacity he exerts considerable influence on all policy affecting the country's merchant marine—for which he has considerable ambitions.

Dr. Wydra is a courteous man and an easy conversationalist.

124. Yaari, Meir

Mapam M.K. (1949).

Born Reshov (Galicia) in 1897. Educated in Poland, at Vienna University and at the Agricultural Institute in Vienna. Was a pupil of Sigmund Freud. Served in the Austrian Army in the First World War. Came to Palestine in 1920. He was one of the founders of Hashomer Hatzair in Vienna and in Palestine, became one of the chief leaders of the party and a member of its world executive. He lives in Kibbutz Merhavia and is a member of the executive of the Kibbutz Artzi. A member of the Zionist General Council and of the Histadrut Executive. In 1949 he was No. 2 on the Mapam list. He afterwards played a leading part in the abortive negotiations with Mapai for the forming of a coalition. In 1951 and 1955 he was re-elected at the head of the party list.

Mr. Yaari is one of the real leaders of Mapam. In the Knesset he has been content to leave Riftin to act as the party's spokesman. At the end of 1952, however, he led the opposition to Sneh in Mapam and eventually forced Sneh and his supporters out of the party in January 1953. He has been active in the

Peace Movement and presided over its first public meeting in Tel Aviv. He is a member of the World Committee of the movement, attended the Warsaw Peace Conference in 1950 and was elected a member of its Presidium. He also attended the World Peace Council in Berlin in 1952.

Unspectacular but effective, he achieves his objectives by slow stages, but with the persistence of a termite.

125. Yadin, Rav-Aloof Yigal

Former Chief of Staff.

Born in 1918 at Jerusalem, son of Professor Sukenik the archaeologist. Studied at the Hebrew University (M.A., archaeology); specialised in history of ancient wars in Palestine and has published various studies. Served in the Haganah from 1933. Was in Wingate's "night squads." A senior Haganah staff officer till 1937, he was District Instructor, Jerusalem, in 1938. After the World War he appears to have been appointed head of a department for planning operations in support of the resistance movement in Palestine, but to have resigned and returned to civilian life in 1946 when the Jewish political leaders were interned. On the outbreak of disturbances following the United Nations Partition Resolution he was called back to active service in December 1947. From then till January 1949, as Chief Operations Officer, he successfully directed the campaigns in Galilee, the Jerusalem corridor and the Negev. He then became chief of "G" Branch, took a leading part in the Rhodes armistice negotiations, went on a tour of European countries and in September 1949, was attached to the Prime Minister as personal military adviser. In November 1949, he was promoted to Rav-Aloof (the highest rank) and replaced Dori as Chief of Staff. Presumably in execution of Mr. Ben-Gurion's army policy, his appointment as Chief of Staff was followed by a weeding out of Mapam officers and various measures of military reorganisation. In December 1952, he resigned as Chief of Staff after differences with Mr. Ben-Gurion and was succeeded by the more amenable Makleff. He spent a period of study in England and returned to Israel in 1954. Although his time is devoted principally to archaeology he keeps in close touch with the leading figures in the country and is generally respected by them. Said to be an (unwilling) candidate as Mr. Eban's long-expected replacement at Washington and is even tipped as a future Prime Minister.

Rav-Aloof Yadin combines the self-confidence of a locally-born "sabro" with the learning of a Jewish scholar. He has an intimate knowledge of the Palestinian terrain. As Chief of Staff he was inclined to take himself too seriously, but he is fundamentally an agreeable and friendly person. He is undoubtedly able and it is probable that he will sooner or later be co-opted back to power in Israel in some capacity. Speaks English and Arabic.

126. Zinder, Harry Zvi

Director of Kol Israel, Government Broadcasting Service, since August 1, 1955.

Born in 1909 in the United States. Began as a free lance writer in 1933 and subsequently worked for the *Palestine Post* and Associated Press. In 1941 he became a staff and war correspondent for *Time* and *Life* magazines in the Middle and Far East, and later bureau chief in Paris and the Middle East. He joined the staff of the Jewish Agency in Washington in 1948, moving in 1951 to the Israel Office of Information in New York and the Israel Delegation to the United Nations.

Mr. Zinder is intelligent and friendly, possessing a pleasant personality. Though an ardent Zionist, he retains the manner and approach of a travelled American. His wife shares these qualities.

127. Zur, Aloof (Brigadier) Zvi (formerly Cherlenko)

Born in Russia in 1923 and came to Israel in 1925. Educated in Israel and the United States, he joined Haganah at the age of 16. In the War of Independence he commanded a battalion in the operation to clear the corridor and open the road to Jerusalem. Later he served in the Negev against the Egyptians. After the war his promotion was rapid and over the heads of many senior officers. He held in succession appointments as Assistant Head of G Branch and later Adjutant-General, a post he filled for three years. In February 1956 he was appointed Commander, Central Command, at Ramle.

Still only 34, he is considered a "bright boy" among the senior Israeli commanders. Painstaking and self-disciplined, he approaches all problems in a methodical and workmanlike manner. He is quiet and pleasant, and speaks excellent English.

128. Zuubi, Seifeddin Muhammad

Arab Democrat M.K.

Born in Nazareth in 1913. Was employed for about ten years as a food inspector by the Nazareth Municipality. In 1944 he became a land broker and

it became known that he was being paid by the Jewish National Fund, a fact which considerably embarrassed the Zuubi clan in Nazareth and Galilee. In 1947 his family, which had formed itself into a party, publicly disowned him for his active co-operation with the Jews. An attempt was made on his life by Arabs in 1947. In 1949 he was put up as an Arab candidate for the Knesset by Mapai against the wishes of his clan and was elected as one of the two Nazareth Democratic members. In 1951 and 1955 he was re-elected on the "Israel Arab Democrats" list, who support the Government.

He knows little English or Hebrew and appears to be an opportunist with no strong convictions.

Obituary

Barth, Dr. Aharon. Banker.

Hoofien, Eliezur Siegfried, M.B.E. Banker.

Simhoni, Aloof Mishne, Asaf. Formerly Commander of Southern Command.

APPENDIX

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

VR 1902/1

No. 20

ISRAEL: HEADS OF FOREIGN MISSIONS

Sir Francis Rundall to Mr. Selwyn Lloyd. (Received October 18)

(No. 107. Confidential) *Tel Aviv,*
Sir, *October 14, 1957.*

In accordance with the instructions in your despatch No. 127 of the 14th of December, 1954, I have the honour to transmit my annual report on the Heads of Foreign Missions in Israel.

I have, &c.

F. B. A. RUNDALL.

Enclosure

(Passages marked with an asterisk are reproduced from previous reports.)

Argentina

Dr. Gregorio Topolevsky, Ambassador (February 8, 1956).

Dr. Topolevsky studied medicine in Germany before the war and practised as a doctor until taking this, his first, diplomatic post. He maintains his interest in medicine, however (he is an ear, nose and throat specialist), and keeps his hand in by operating gratis in the kibbutzim. He is a Jew, like his predecessor, and unmarried. His English and French are limited and his "German" is nearly all Yiddish; but he is most friendly and contrives to be a cheerful and agreeable companion.

Austria

Dr. Kurt H. Enderl, Chargé d'Affaires (May 8, 1956).

*Dr. Enderl had been the Austrian Consul-General since March 1955. He may well be moved when a Minister is finally appointed. He is a friendly colleague and markedly pro-British. His rather brassy wife has more jewellery than discretion, but is pleasant enough in her own eccentric way. (Written in 1956.)

Belgium

M. Amaury Holvoet, Minister (November 22, 1955).

*M. Holvoet was Counsellor at the Belgian Embassy in London until a few years ago and was at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs until his appointment here. He is accompanied by his charming wife and by two teenage daughters. (Written in 1956.) He strikes me as rather ineffectual but may improve on acquaintance.

Brazil

M. Nelson Tabajara de Oliveira, Minister (December 8, 1954).

*M. Tabajara was born at Avaré in the State of São Paulo in 1904. He joined the Brazilian Foreign Service in 1931 and has since served in Shanghai, Hong Kong, Montevideo, Yokohama, Buenos Aires, Chicago and Bogotá. Before his appointment to Tel Aviv he was in charge of the Consular Division of the Foreign Ministry.

*This is M. Tabajara's first post as Minister. He is friendly and sociable, but somewhat overshadowed by his wife, whom he met in Hong Kong and who is of Portuguese origin, was educated at English schools and speaks English fluently. Both are keen bridge-players and like to be seen at the right functions. (Written in 1955.)

Bulgaria

M. Gheorgui Zenguilekov, Minister (August 16, 1954).

*M. Zenguilekov is a young man, probably under 40. Heavily built and swarthy, his appearance is against him; but he improves on acquaintance. Despite poor French and no English he enjoys parties and can be quite good company. Formerly a trade union official, this is his first venture into diplomacy. (Written in 1955.) He has not called on me and I have not got beyond bowing terms with him yet. His wife speaks only Bulgarian and some Russian.

Burma

Mr. Khin Maung Gale, Chargé d'Affaires (May 16, 1955).

*Formerly Chargé d'Affaires in Belgrade where he opened the first Burmese Legation, Mr. Khin Maung Gale arrived here in May 1955 to perform the same role and to prepare the visit of his Prime Minister to Israel. Friendly and shrewd. (Written in 1955.) His wife and children remain in Burma.

Chile

M. Francisco Valdivieso Delauney, Chargé d'Affaires *en pied* (August 7, 1957).

M. Francisco Valdivieso was appointed Chargé d'Affaires *en pied* after the former Minister, Dr. Sepulveda, who is also Ambassador at Ankara, was withdrawn. A friendly person, his French is apparently as incomprehensible to my French-speaking colleagues as it is to me. He has a good-looking wife who finds the climate trying.

Costa Rica

Dr. Don Fernando Escalante Pradilla, Minister (*agréé*).

Dr. Pradilla, who has not yet presented his credentials here, is also Minister at Rome, where he resides.

Cuba

M. Alberto de la Campa y Roff, Minister (November 9, 1955).

*M. de la Campa Roff is also Ambassador in Rome, where he resides. A career diplomat, he has served in Stockholm, Madrid and Washington, where his father is the Cuban Ambassador. He paid a brief visit to Israel to present his credentials and then left the Legation in charge of M. David Ferdman, a Jewish, but not Israeli, business man with interests in Belgium and Switzerland and, to a lesser extent, Cuba. (Written in 1956.) During his visit to Israel in May 1957 the Minister officially informed his colleagues that his Legation had been transferred to Jerusalem, and his official shield was in fact put up on a hotel there. However, his Chargé d'Affaires was at pains to describe this as a "bêtise" and has since, on instructions from Cuba, announced that the Legation has reverted to Tel Aviv.

Czechoslovakia

M. Zdenek Jobanek, Chargé d'Affaires, *a.i.* (September 23, 1954).

Born in June 1922. M. Jobanek has not called on me. He is a miserable young man who manages to look simultaneously decadent and sinister.

Denmark

M. Hugo Hergel, Minister (March 17, 1955).

M. Hergel is also Danish Minister to Greece and Turkey, and normally resides in Ankara. He is a career diplomat and has served as Minister in Bucharest and Moscow. His wife is English. Both speak fluent French and M. Hergel's English is almost perfect. I have only met them once but they seem an attractive couple.

Dominican Republic

M. Pedro Troncoso Sanchez, Minister (March 13, 1957).

Resides at Rome where he is also Minister.

Finland

M. Toivo I. Kala, Chargé d'Affaires *en pied* (January 23, 1953).

*M. Kala has served principally in the Far East and Turkey. He is a friendly and sociable man and his wife, in her solid way, is also pleasant. Both speak excellent English. (Written in 1955.)

France

M. Pierre Gilbert, Ambassador (March 4, 1953).

*M. Gilbert was born in Dunkirk in 1907 and, before entering the French Foreign Service in 1932 as a specialist in oriental languages, served in the French Navy. He spent most of the pre-war period in China. He rejoined the French Navy soon after the outbreak of war, but left it after the internment of the French fleet at Alexandria, where he joined the Royal Navy. He served with the French National Liberation Committee in Algiers and rejoined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1944. In 1947 he became French Ambassador at Lima. He is a Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur and holds the Croix de Guerre and the Résistance medal. As a result of a shooting accident he has only one lung, a handicap which in no way interferes with his activities in work and sport. (Written in 1954.)

M. Gilbert is intelligent, unconventional and a bit of a problem as a colleague. He has been doyen for three years, but completely neglects his duties in this capacity and is criticised on this account by his colleagues. He is friendly enough to meet but shows little disposition to co-operate even in matters closely concerning the other tripartite representatives. He is extremely popular in Israel because he speaks excellent Hebrew, publicly endorses the Israeli point of view at every opportunity and is rightly held to be one of the main architects of the *de facto* Franco-Israel alliance. He has told me that the Quai d'Orsay do not approve of him but that he can afford to ignore them because he is very close to M. Mollet and other leading politicians. One cannot imagine his surviving a major change of French policy towards Israel. His wife, a Greek from Alexandria, has not visited Israel for some time and is said to make no secret of her distaste for the country.

Greece

M. Pavlos Pandermalis, Diplomatic Representative (January 28, 1957).

M. Pandermalis is in the somewhat anomalous position of residing in Jerusalem despite the fact that Greece has not accorded *de jure* recognition to Israel.

He delayed his call upon me until some four months after my arrival and stayed for some ten minutes, leaving me in no doubt that he expected our relations to be unfriendly. He is not impressive.

Guatemala

Dr. Jorge Garcia Granados, Minister (July 11, 1955).

Dr. Granados served as a member of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine in 1947, in which capacity he worked hard for Jewish interests. He is commonly believed to have ended this stage of his career a great deal richer than when he started it. The Government makes a great fuss over him, not least because he established his Legation in Jerusalem despite pressure from all quarters, including, it is said, his own Government. His relations with his foreign colleagues are less cordial. He has an attractive wife, and his son is his First (and only) Secretary. In May 1956 he was appointed Minister to Greece also, and this summer as Minister at London, to which he has transferred his residence. His gay but studious son acts as Chargé d'Affaires.

Hungary

M. Ivan Kallo, Minister (March 20, 1957).

Hungary's first Minister to Israel, he previously served as Minister in Bucharest and from 1951 to 1955 as Minister in Rome.

A stout, wistfully friendly man. He speaks German but no English.

Iceland

M. Magnus Magnusson, Minister (March 20, 1957).

M. Magnusson is also Minister at Stockholm (where he resides), Tehran and Helsinki.

Italy

Benedetto Capomazza, Marchese di Compollattaro, Ambassador (January 31, 1956).

*M. Capomazza, who served as Minister here from December 1953, is in his middle 50's and a Neapolitan. He claims to be a royalist and, in the Fascist era, served in the Foreign Press Office of the Ministry of Popular Culture. He has served in Washington and Madrid. (Written in 1955.) He is dapper, cultivated and amiable, and has considerable professional experience and social grace. I find him a shrewd and helpful colleague. He is married but his (American) wife has never joined him.

Japan

Mr. Kuniyoshi Negishi, Chargé d'Affaires, *a.i.* (August 30, 1955).

*A former business man with little previous diplomatic experience. A pleasant but insignificant little man. (Written in 1956.) His wife is amiably decorative.

Mexico

M. Gustavo Ortiz Hernan, Minister (July 31, 1956).

Reported to be well-disposed towards Israel, M. Ortiz is, nevertheless, an exceedingly lazy man who is content to relax with his decorative wife at his seaside villa, 20 miles from Tel Aviv. He visits his Legation (which serves also as his secretary's flat) once a week. A flabby but friendly colleague, he has been Consul-General in Houston and Director of Tourism in Mexico.

Netherlands

Jonkheer Johan Q. Bas Backer, Minister (February 25, 1957).

M. Bas Backer and his wife are a pleasant couple whom it would be nice to see more often. He remains the only diplomatic representative, apart from the Greek, Uruguayan and Guatemalan, permanently established in Jerusalem.

Norway

M. Ernst Hougen, Minister (October 23, 1952).

Resides at Athens. Previously acted as Norwegian Chargé d'Affaires in Israel, but rarely comes here now.

Peru

M. Mario Sosa Pardo de Zela, Minister (August 20, 1957).

M. Sosa, whom I have not met, is also Minister at Vienna, where he resides. He has not opened an office here.

Philippines

Dr. Roberto Regala, Minister (August 9, 1957).

Also Ambassador at Rome (where he resides) and Minister at Vienna. Once a professional lawyer he has since had a successful diplomatic career including seven years as Ambassador to Australia and New Zealand. He makes a good impression.

Poland

No successor to M. Wolniak has yet been appointed. Meanwhile the Legation is in the charge of M. Jan Slowikowski, the Second Secretary, an unpleasant person who is up to no good.

Roumania

Dr. Petre Manu, Minister (July 19, 1957).

This is Dr. Manu's first diplomatic appointment. A doctor by training he has served in various official and party capacities in Bucharest and in the provinces. A determined man who speaks a slow deliberate English. Both he and his wife give the impression that they would like to be friendly if they dared.

Soviet Union

M. A. N. Abramov, Ambassador (August 10, 1954).

*Early in 1945, M. Abramov was Head of the Fourth European Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in which capacity he signed the Soviet-Polish trade and frontier treaties. From September 1945 to April 1946 he served as Head of the Fifth European Department which deals with Finland and the Scandinavian countries, and a few months later was appointed Soviet Minister to Finland, where he remained until early 1948. In 1949 he was appointed as Ambassador to Sweden, but was prevented from taking up his post on account of illness.

*No doubt under instructions, M. Abramov is friendly and cordial in his dealings both with other diplomatic missions and with the Israelis. I judge that his instructions accord well with his own temperament, which is expansive and genial. He travels widely and is, I imagine, active in promoting Communist interests; but he conducts himself with considerable discretion and is generally well liked. He knows little or no English, but is learning French. His wife, whose English is excellent, is easy-mannered and agreeable to meet and is widely said to be the brains of the family. M. Abramov, who was appointed Minister to Israel in the autumn of 1953, returned as Ambassador in 1954, when the Israeli and Soviet Missions in Moscow and Tel Aviv respectively were raised to the status of Embassies on the resumption of diplomatic relations. (Written in 1955.)

M. Abramov was recalled for some months after the Sinai campaign and since his return his conduct has dutifully reflected the increased Soviet hostility towards Israel; even to the point of ducking out to Damascus for the Jewish New Year to avoid making the ritual speech at the President's reception in his capacity as acting doyen.

I find M. Abramov heavily friendly, but I doubt if his geniality is more than skin deep. His wife now looks more miserable every time we see her.

Sweden

M. Osten Lundborg, Ambassador (October 8, 1957).

Born 1909 he has been a member of his Foreign Service since 1934. From 1947 to 1951 he served as Counsellor in London and from 1953 to 1956 as Counsellor at Budapest. M. Lundborg's last post was as Swedish representative on the Neutral Nations Supervisory Committee in Korea. He is accompanied by his truly charming wife and by one of his two children. His English, like that of his wife, is good and he makes a friendly, co-operative but rather dull colleague. On the excuse of health he avoids the drearier parties.

M. Lundborg was appointed Minister to Israel on July 5, 1956, but the status of this mission was raised this year.

Switzerland

M. Felix Schnyder, Minister (June 5, 1957).

Born in 1910 he studied law at Berne and joined his Foreign Service in 1940. Has served in Moscow, Washington and Berlin, where he made many British friends.

A shrewd, cheerful man, he and his wife are distinct assets. She does not let increasing blindness interfere with her activities. Both speak good English.

Turkey

M. Nejat Uctum, Chargé d'Affaires, *a.i.* (April 9, 1957).

M. Istinyeli, formerly Minister, was recalled after the Sinai campaign and has not been replaced. M. Uctum, who has First Secretary rank, is a former journalist who is still in search of a scoop. I find him friendly but inquisitive.

United States

Mr. Edward B. Lawson, Ambassador (November 11, 1954).

Mr. Lawson was born in Newport, Tennessee, in 1894 and educated at Georgetown University, Washington, D.C. He previously served as United States Minister to Iceland. His earlier appointments, mainly on the economic and commercial side, were in Johannesburg, London, Prague, Managua and Ankara.

*Though considerably handicapped by deafness, he combines a good deal of shrewdness with common sense. I have found him a most helpful and co-operative colleague. He travels assiduously and reads innumerable speeches prepared for him by his Information Officer.

*Mr. Lawson is accompanied by his wife, who is an amiable and friendly body but precluded by what is kindly, and in part truthfully, described as an incurable circulatory defect from playing any part in the activities of her husband's Mission. (Written in 1955.)

Mr. Lawson has been on leave since a week or so after I arrived, but is rumoured to be returning shortly. I endorse previous estimates of him. His wife is charming but a complete invalid.

Uruguay

Dr. Pedro Maria di Lorenzo, Minister (May 28, 1956).

Dr. Lorenzo was Counsellor at the Uruguayan Embassy in Rome from 1951-55. As he has established his Legation in Jerusalem, I shall probably not be seeing much of him. Not impressive and complains ceaselessly of the rigours of life in Israel.

Yugoslavia

M. Dragoje Diuric, Minister (October 17, 1956).

A large, untidy man, he is friendly and seems shrewd.